

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

REFERENDUM FILE

AS TIME RUNS OUT

**THE MEANING OF
VOTING YES OR NO**

**A PORTRAIT OF
THE NEW QUEBEC**

**UNDERSTANDING THE
CHARLOTTETOWN
ACCORD: A HANDBOOK**



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When voters cast their ballots in the Oct. 26 referendum, they will likely demonstrate that they have moved far beyond a traditional fault line between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Although that ancient fault line in the Canadian shield remains, the fractious debate has placed them in a new light as well as revealed the complexities of their Canadian. In a special issue, Maclean's examines the new patterns, in the nation as a whole as well as in Quebec, and it looks beyond a Yes or No vote to the implications for the future.

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SPECIAL ISSUE

REFERENDUM FILE

AS TIME RUNS OUT



Canadians are bitterly divided over whether the Charlottetown accord represents progress—or a backward step



The Most Critical Task

In retrospect, it was probably unavoidable. After Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and 35 provincial and native leaders reached a consensus on far-reaching constitutional changes, it seemed essential to give voters a chance to approve their decisions. A national referendum would provide an opportunity to approve the accord, making it a consensus of all Canadians, rather than a politically lankier deal as the tradition of the doomed 1987 Meech Lake accord. It is unlikely that voters would have accepted anything less. But it is also hard to imagine any government in Ottawa ever again taking the risks that have become glaringly apparent over the past several weeks.

The leaders of the Yea and the No forces both laid out national arguments to support their case. Both of these made powerful appeals to the emotions on which nations are built. But both ran up against the deep-rooted regional differences that have always lurked just below the surface of Canada. Neither side, in the end, was able to design a strategy that could evoke a common response in Atlantic Canada, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies and British Columbia. Instead, the dynamics of the campaign shook loose ugly emotions from every region.

Now, regardless of the Oct. 26 result, the most critical task facing Canada's leaders is to make a profoundly convincing display of shared purpose at an economic summit that should be held within a month of the referendum. The single economic recovery is a danger of becoming a dogma. The best argument for a united country will be a detailed single plan for a rapid, job-creating recovery designed to propel a prosperous nation into the 21st century.

Next week, because of the importance of the referendum, *Maclean's* will take the unusual step of holding the presses to carry the results, analysis and other observations and unusual features. Instead of a Sunday night program, the magazine will hold the start until Tuesday morning and appear on most newsstands starting Wednesday as it goes into the mails.

Kevin W. Doyle



Special issue's Assistant Managing Editor Michael Desautels and National Reporter Ann McGreggor: the risks become glaringly apparent.

Maclean's

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Section Editor: Don Harris, Don Harris

Chief of Information Services: Don Harris

Section Editor: Don Harris, Don Harris

Communications: Coordinator: Don Harris

Editor: Don Harris, Don Harris

Assistant to the Editor: Don Harris

Assistant to the Managing Editor: Don Harris

Editorial Assistant: Don Harris

Correspondents: Don Harris, Don Harris

Section Editor: Don Harris, Don Harris

Chief of Information Services: Don Harris

Section Editor: Don Harris, Don Harris

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LETTERS

How gullible?

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Ontario Premier Bob Rae are among those responding to pessimistic Canadians with a Yes vote by forecasting financial disaster if Canadians vote No ("The fear factor," *CanadaCover*, Oct. 12). They must have short memories. Before the death of Meech Lake, Mulroney was threatening financial disaster if "the deal" was rejected. Several financial institutions after the collapse of Meech, the Canadian currency went up. On July 19, 1990, the Canadian dollar hit a 10-year high of 86.73 cents (U.S.). Only after Rae's \$9.7-billion deficit budget for Ontario, did the bank and Ontario's financial rating hit the skids. It was the view of the fact that this referendum left voters in a bind. Canadians should not be intimidated into voting as Mulroney dictates. How gullible are we!

Ted Banks,
London, Ont.



Mulroney: the spectre of a No vote

cultural nature of Canada—multiculturalism recognizes that Canadian society has evolved and flourished due to the contributions of Canadians from many backgrounds.

Stephane Lussick,
Ottawa

Your article mentions a Yes campaign TV ad referring to the "threat to our dollar." These Yes-men do not refer to economics or history. Many economists have told us that the dollar has been overvalued. The Yes-men are talking about a drop of about 10 percent, but they do not mention that our dollar dropped to 77.14 from 80.11 in the eight months before the 1994 election—when it looked like Brian Mulroney might win—and down to 70.98 during the first 16 months of his tenure. It did not rise noticeably until the latter stages of the free trade negotiations. This may be what gave rise to the rumor that there was an unwritten agreement to maintain a narrower margin between the United States and Canadian dollars. So, what has the dollar got to do with the referendum on the Constitution?

R. W. Williams,
Stony Plain, Alta.

More tolerance

I was disappointed and disturbed by Barbara Amiel's column "Society's nightmare: multiculturalism" (Oct. 12). Not only is she disingenuous in her attempt to prove that true Canadians should vote No in the upcoming referendum, but she also uses multiculturalism as a scapegoat for our current constitutional state, by extolling the virtues of authoritarianism. Her criticisms are veiled but consistently petty. If we could all be more tolerant of other people's cultures, languages and beliefs, we would go a long way to solving our present constitutional crisis and building a better Canada. We have not "devoured our Anglo-Canadian heritage of liberal democracy" by recognizing the multi-

Barbara Amiel's analysis of the constitutional changes is right on the money. It is a pity that a copy of her article was not included with the publication: "Four Goals for Canada's Proposed Constitutional Changes" that was recently distributed throughout the country.

N. A. Slack,
Competition, Ont.

Power and contempt

The article "The psychology of anger" (*CanadaCover*, Oct. 12) contains a quote: "One of the things that people would like to do is to tell the elite that they're no longer willing to defer to the elite consensus." Apparently the elite have the misconception that the rest of us are intellectually inferior, and they have displayed an alarming propensity to talk down to us. They are stonewalled in their contempt for the people and the democratic process they claim to defend, while manipulating whatever is necessary to retain their power. Like Empty Democracy, it will all come crashing down.

Scott Davy,
Ottawa

Letters may be condensed. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone number. Write to: Editor, *Maclean's*, 600 King Street West, Toronto, Ont. M5X 1C5. Fax: (416) 593-2222.

PASSAGES

AWARDED: To cosmopolitan Guatemalan Indian rights activist Rigoberta Menchú, 33, the 1992 \$1.5-million Nobel Peace Prize, by the Nobel Committee in Oslo. Menchú (pronounced Men-CHU) was international acclaim with the 1983 publication of *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, which described persecution of her people by the security forces of Guatemala's right-wing government. In 1981, after soldiers killed her parents and a 10-year-old brother, she fled to Mexico, where she has continued to campaign against abuses of civil rights.



AWARDED: To Montreal-born chemistry professor Rudolph Marcus, 68, the 1992 Nobel Prize for chemistry, for his theoretical theories about how electrons behave in chemical reactions. Marcus, an American citizen who received his doctorate from McGill University in 1966, now teaches at the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena.

AWARDED: The 1992 Premio Peace Medal to Dr. Eric Hawkins, 54, of Simcoe, Ont., by the United Nations Association in Canada, for his humanitarianism and to pioneer lawyer A. Rhodes Scholier, Simcoe, who was working on his thesis at Oxford University shortly before the Gulf War in early 1991. He joined a peace camp on the border of Iraq in the hope of preventing the war and, after it

began, he escorted convoys of relief supplies and drugs along dangerous routes into the country. The Pearson medal is named for former Canadian prime minister Lester Pearson, a Nobel Peace Prize winner who died in 1972.

DIED: Legendary New York Times foreign correspondent Robert Trumbull, 80, of Detroit, cancer, in a Honolulu hospital. For almost four decades, he covered major events in Asia, the Far East and the Pacific until he retired in 1979. He wrote several books, including the 1962 best-seller *The Jack's survival story about three American flyers downed in the Pacific during the Second World War*. One of Trumbull's last Times postings was in Ottawa, from 1974 to 1978.

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IT JUST FEELS RIGHT

AS TIME RUNS OUT



*"Love consists in this, that two solitudes
protect and touch and greet each other"*

—Gertrude Stein
Rever: Marie Rhee,
in a 1994 letter to a friend

Long before Hugh MacLennan borrowed the line to use as the title for his classic 1945 novel, Canadians gradually recognized the fact of the country's two solitudes: English and French Canada, divided by language and traditions, united by geography, history and, quite often, adversity. Over 125 years, French- and English-speaking Canadians have built a country together, but largely failed to form a common identity. When they celebrate their differences, it is usually from a distance: almost since the day that Canada was born, the percentage of anglophones in Quebec and of francophones in other provinces has been steadily diminishing as the two language groups move away from each other.

When Quebecers and other Canadians vote in the Oct. 26 referendum, they will likely demonstrate that they have moved beyond those basic differences. Instead, the result—like the campaign leading up to it—will reflect a new reality in which differences between French- and English-Canadians are just one part of a larger, more fractious and untidy mix. When Prime Minister Brian Mulroney first announced plans for a nationwide vote on constitutional reform, supporters optimistically suggested that the exercise would serve as an "affirmation of Canada"—allowing Canadians to define who they are and what they stand for. As referendum day approaches, it remains unclear whether Canadians will ever agree on a vision of the country—but it is painfully apparent who and what they oppose. Those under assault have included almost all elected politicians, in particular those at the federal and provincial levels, along with people from any other region or group across the country that does not share one's own goals. By the end of last week, an unexpected senior Progressive Conservative acknowledged that sup-

*IN THE FINAL DAYS OF THE REFERENDUM
CAMPAIGN, THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS
HAS UNLEASHED A FURY OF
COMPETING INTERESTS
AND REGIONAL RESENTMENTS*



purview of the Charter. The accord faces "a very uphill fight" in at least three provinces—Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta—and opposition results in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Uplift may be an understatement. For Yes supporters, public opinion polls released last week offered an even gloomier view of how Canadians plan to vote. An Angus Reid Group poll, conducted between Oct. 12 and 15, showed that the Yes forces had a solid lead in just three provinces: Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. And it revealed that even Ontario, once believed to be a hotbed of support for the Yes option, was becoming a highly contested battleground, with the Yes side holding a narrow six-to-five-to-45-per-cent lead over those respondents who said that they would vote against the accord. And in Quebec, where Premier Robert Bourassa had hoped that his Oct. 12 televised debate with Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau would revitalize his Yes campaign, the No side still held a commanding lead, by up to 33 percentage points in some polls.

The leaders of the national Yes campaign are pinning much of their hope for a late comeback on the traditionally volatile nature of referendum, both in Canada and abroad. At week's end, Yes organizers said that their private polling indicated that between 35 per cent and 50 per cent of Canadians had not yet decided how to vote—and that fully half of all decided voters acknowledged that they might change their minds by Oct. 26. As a result, the Yes side has planned a heavy barrage of print and television advertisements due to contrast what they claim are the potentially asinine consequences of a No vote with the image of international stability that Canada could offer should there be a nationwide Yes vote. As well, the Yes forces will stage a series of grassroots rallies featuring well-known local dignitaries rather than high-profile politicians. Said Barry Neuf, a veteran Conservative organizer and senior director of the national Yes campaign: "There is a misconception that only politicians support this deal. We aim to make clear that our support runs across the social and political spectrum."

But the fact that Conservatives, Liberals and New Democrats are working together on the national Yes campaign has also proven to have some surprising disadvantages. One is caused by Canadian radio-televised and television-transmission Commission regulations which require that both sides have access to equal amounts of free radio and television time. That effectively means that the Reform Party of Canada, as one of the only groups on the No side with enough money to produce campaign ads, has been getting as much free air time as the three main Yes parties combined. And, although representatives of each of the three parties at Yes headquarters—including Neuf, Gordon Ashworth of the Liberals and Les Campbell of the NDP—have worked together well, relations have not always been smooth at the riding level. There, longstanding traditions and different campaign styles have led to argu-

Trudeau's critique reinforced the doubts of the confused and skeptical



Mulroney has been restrained throughout most of the campaign



ments over how to market the Yes message. Acknowledged Neuf: "All is far now, but it took a lot of doing to get some volunteers from the different parties used to working together."

In that respect, the campaign exhibits some of the same tensions that surrounded the accord. From the start, supporters of the Charlottetown accord balked at the admission of a "typically Canadian" spirit of compromise, in which the participants—most notably Quebec, the western provinces and native groups—obtained some, but not all, of their demands (page 34). But it is far from clear whether Canadians really are prepared to compromise in the name of national unity. The transient mood of new governments has focused such attention as the ultra-nationalist conviction in both Quebec and the West that too much was given away in return for too little at the bargaining table.

Disillusionment with the agreement extends even to those who were among the biggest winners in one of last week's most surprising developments: Claude Morneau, the national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, found a rebuff from some native leaders who said that the accord's proposals for self-government fell short of their expectations. After three days of meetings, the chiefs failed to endorse the deal when not enough of them remained to form the necessary quorum for a vote. After that setback, Morneau said that he will consider resigning as head of the Assembly.

But the anger of those who insist that they failed to gain enough power against the rage of those who claim that their interests were altogether ignored in the constitutional talks. Well, apparently, has no fury like an interest group not specifically cited in the preamble to the Constitution; those with hurt feelings include the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) as well as organizations representing the elderly, mentally and physically disabled and visible minorities—many have joined the No side. At the same time, many other critics of the accord complain that the proposed text is already too complicated, lengthy and legislative in tone.

In fact, the debate over sunset demands and alleged loopholes has obscured a far more pressing issue: the implications of the changes contained within the proposal. Presumed to defuse the accord's potential impact, Yes supporters insist, at times, both vague and non-committal. Confusion surrounds everything from the scope of federal self rule in the event border rule that the Supreme Court of Canada would inevitably play in interpreting laws passed by legislatures (page 18). Doubts over the consequences of such changes led Eric Kermes, for one, a highly respected constitutional expert and former federal minister, to reverse himself and vote No last week as an afternoon poll.

Even such routine matters as the cost of accommodating changes to the federal House of Commons and Senate are undecided. In fact, Robert Fleming, the former chief administrator of the Ontario legislature and an acknowledged expert on government operations, estimates



THE SHAPE OF THE FUTURE AFTER A YES

Less government, more lawyers and higher investment may follow accord's acceptance



Canada's political and native leaders gathered in July and August to rewrite the Constitution, filled with determination but facing a huge task of resolving a long list of conflicting demands. And no matter how those conflicts were decided, they also had to produce a document answer to the complaints that led the March 1982 accord. Critics then had argued that Meech catenored to Quebec exclusively—and failed to address the concerns of other provinces and internal groups. But the sheer breadth and scope of the Charlottetown agreement, dealing with everything from the division of powers to native self-government, has created a new problem for the political elite.

Because of its complexity, many Canadians are uncertain about the consequences of a Yes vote for their pocketbooks and the country's political future.

The confusion is understandable. While the implications of some parts of the accord appear relatively straightforward—lowering other things, the Charlottetown agreement would ensure that each province has six senators and extend Quebec's historic right to three of the nine Supreme Court of Canada justices—other areas are open to speculation, interpretation and debate. A guide to some of the changes that might

Cree children at play in northern Quebec: self-government, but no final details

occur if the Yes side wins on Oct. 26:

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS:

According to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, the outlook for the economy after a Yes vote is rosy. Last week, the Prime Minister predicted that the average annual income of a family of five, now slightly over \$50,000, would increase to \$61,000 by the end of the decade if the accord is passed. Mulroney also cited Statistics Canada projections that 2.5 million new jobs would be created by the year 2000, implying that these benefits would be lost in the event of a No vote. (Lending errors

mean that an employment increase of that scale could be achieved only with annual gross domestic product growth of over four per cent a year. The economy is currently expanding at an annual rate of just over one per cent.)

For his part, Claude Brethouche, the leader of a federalist business coalition in Quebec, and that the new division of powers would reduce the costs of fulfilling federal and provincial services on 11 different sectors—including immigration and culture, labor market training and development, forestry, mining, tourism, housing, recreation and municipal affairs. Added Brethouche: "We estimate that translates into savings of about \$3 billion a year—per year, not per day."

A Yes vote would likely also stand a note of stability in an economy already straggled by a severe recession. James Dean, an economist at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., said that if the accord were publicly approved, "the dollar, I expect, would strengthen and interest rates would fall. It immediately means that those who renew large mortgages will be paying less and that our exports will cost less." A Yes vote would also reassure business investors, especially wary about Canada's economic prospects after last week's decision by Standard & Poor's Corp., a New York City debt rating agency, to lower Ottawa's foreign-currency debt rating. That downgrade took place less than a week after a New York brokerage firm, Salomon Brothers, said that if Canadians voted in favor of the Charlottetown accord, "political risks that have permeated financial markets since the June 1980 collapse of the March 1982 Accord will be lessened and interest rates could move significantly lower."

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES:

In the short run, at least, a victory for the Yes campaign would clearly represent a setback for politicians and parties that supported the No side. They include Proton Manning's Calgary-based Reform Party of Canada, Lucien Bouchard's Bloc Québécois and Jacques Parizeau's Parti Québécois. "I think there are some careers at stake here," says Agat Adamson, a political scientist at Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S. "For instance, if the Yes side wins in Quebec, it's the end of Parizeau—his job is on the line."

By contrast, a Yes vote would likely reflect well on Mulroney's Conservatives. The Tories, by setting the agenda for the constitutional talks, would have taken a march on the opposition Liberals and the New Democratic Party, both of which have put aside support for the agreement in order to gain the Conservatives in support of the accord. Said political economist Glen Williams of Ottawa's Carleton University: "The opposition parties did not, from the beginning, build into their support for the accord sufficient distance to distinguish themselves afterwards in the public arena. Mulroney could come off with a Yes vote as if he knew what he was doing, and the other parties were just his junior partners."

Still, other analysts claim that the Prime Minister is no superstar that even a victory for the Yes side in a referendum would restore him to public life. Indeed, some of Mulroney's own allies on the Yes side have said that his participation in the campaign has cost the Yes forces support from voters who remain angry about the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, the Goods and Services Tax and other key aspects of his eight-year tenure in office. As a result, Mulroney might find himself coming to regret his role in the campaign after a Yes vote, to close the way for a leadership convention before the general election, expected next year. Still, Mulroney himself said last week that his political career will continue after the referendum. "This will be an election in 1992 and not in 1991," he said. "Dealing with [Liberal Leader Jean] Char-

lotteau, [Bloc Leader Aubrey] McLaughlin or Mulroney," he told the Montreal daily *La Presse*. Carleton's Williams also dismissed negative speculation. He said that the voters were "placated by the Yes side. Can you really expect people to believe that he would resign after a Yes vote?" One thing, at least, seems clear: if Mulroney does intend to run again, he will have to offer voters a plan to improve the country's productivity, if not its standard of living, economic growth. As Carleton and recently "The minute he won't be able to escape himself in this (constitutional) problem, we'll have him naked on the economy."

CONSTITUTIONAL AFTERMATH:

Above all, the Charlottetown accord provides for an extensive rewriting of federal institutions—and Canadian life. The Senate would be both elected and equal and Quebec's distinctive character would be recognized, allowing the province to foster and promote its status as a "distinct society." It is still uncertain when the new Senate would begin operating, although most experts predict that it will take several years to plan the necessary elections. The accord also paves the way for eventual self-government for natives.

But the accord would still have to be ratified by the provincial legislatures and the Parliament. That would be followed by a period in which lawyers would put in place the final details of the accord's legal text. These new areas—such as amended self-government and the devolution of powers to the provinces—which require a good deal of legal adjustment, where there is only a loosely defined "political accord" among leaders. Says University of New Brunswick political scientist Donald Desnoes: "This is a southern near over—we've got a long road left."

Still, the achievement of the Charlottetown pact, however hardsome for the public and politicians alike, may have forever changed the future conduct of constitutional deliberations in Canada. Declared Thomas Courchesne, research director at Queen's University's School of Policy Studies in Kingston, Ont.: "Ever with a grudging Yes vote, the political map of Canada has changed. Canadians have had their fill of executive federalism—politicians in the future will be wary of shoving their feet in any constitutional process."

A Yes vote might also give, if only temporarily, many of the divisions for national federalism from Quebec and the West that have permeated since the Pierre Trudeau era. Howe and Co. a specialist in Canadian politics at the University of Miami who has followed Canada's constitutional debate closely, and that, "If the provinces go down through, there's going to be a period of relative calm compared to what would allow Canada and their leaders to move on to other, equally pressing matters. They might not be able to close the book on constitutional issues, but a Yes vote might help them turn an important page."

GLEN ALLAN in Ottawa

THE SHAPE OF CANADA AFTER A NO VOTE

The economy may survive, but Mulroney might not

The ironies are striking. Flashed with pride at their ability to temper, 17 political and business leaders take their acknowledgment to the people. But instead of being hailed as latter-day Fathers of Confederation, they are chastised for giving too much, or acquiring too little. None of the groups that would gain from proposed constitutional changes are particularly happy. Quebecers complain that they are being denied sufficient power; westerners say Quebec has received too many powers and are unhappy with the proposals for Senate reform; nationalists express doubts about the self-government provisions. And a disparate coalition of fringe political parties and special interest groups opposed to the Charter-based constitutional accord for widely different reasons captures a sense of public dissatisfaction.

On the surface, a rejection of the Charlotteville accord is no more than a single No to a solitary question—an unusually large—and costly—public opinion poll. But the consequences of that rejection are likely to echo throughout Canada's turbulent constitutional history for decades to come. Some of the possibilities:

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS:

An old joke among economists holds that if 12 of them gather to consider the future, they will produce 13 differing forecasts. True to form, economists are divided on what impact a No vote will have on the Canadian dollar and future foreign investment. Early in the referendum campaign, the Royal Bank of Canada assessed the risk of No supporters with a report predicting that the income of an average Canadian family would fall by \$10,140 by the turn of the century if Quebec separated. In the wake of that report, and other predictions by supporters of the Yes side, the value of the Canadian dollar briefly fell below 80 cents (U.S.).

But last week, prominent New York City investment house Salomon Brothers Inc. downgraded the ramifications of a No vote. The firm asserted that the increasing volatility in Quebec of the consequences of a

revised political uncertainty account "a sovereign Quebec is the least likely outcome following a No vote." In contrast, Standard & Poor's City, a New York credit rating agency that last week downgraded a small portion of Canada's debt from an AAA to AA-plus on Oct. 14, warned that "uncertainty about the future shape of the confederation, if they persist, could weaken investor confidence and hamper the conduct of economic policy over the next two to three" (page 80).

For politicians, the operative economic word is "uncertainty"—and how best to avoid it. In Quebec, Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau, a former finance minister, has tried to soothe the international money markets by saying that a No vote is not a vote for sovereignty. Indeed, most economists say that the potential negative impact of a No vote, particularly a No vote in more than three provinces, has been exaggerated. Declared University of Alberta economics professor Paul Booth, who intends to vote No "if he ever does feel referendum on sovereignty for Quebec, then we'll have to watch financial markets. But that's not what we—as the people in Quebec—are talking about now."

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES:

A No vote would merely be the first of a series of shock waves felt by Ottawa. In the aftermath of the accord's defeat, the three federal parties—united in spirited support of the Charlotteville deal—would be challenged with political paralysis. With a general election looming within the next 12 months, federal politicians who face the bleak prospect of finding themselves gravely out of step with what, if not all, of their constituents' Party Division Reform Party of Canada led by Preston Manning, both of which would be poised for major gains among disgruntled voters. Declared University of Prince Edward Island political scientist David Milne, who intends to vote Yes: "The survival of mainstream federal parties is on the line after a No vote. If the Liberals and the New Democrats are

unable to reach a consensus party warfare should ensue."

But the governing Conservatives are most at risk. Reaction in either Quebec or Alberta and British Columbia could considerably impact the delicate Tory coalition of Mulroney and trans-Quebec Quebec nationalists. It might also provide a spate of resignations that could reduce the government's 10-seat majority to a minority. That, in turn, could force the Conservatives to call an election earlier than they might wish. Most certainly, a negative vote would be a major blow to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, whose low popular standing is tied to some extent to his role as instigator of the latest constitutional roller-coaster.

The most likely political winners on the federal scene include the separatist Bloc Québécois led by Lucien Bouchard and the Calgary-based Reform Party of Canada led by Preston Manning, both of which would be poised for major gains among disgruntled voters. Declared University of Prince Edward Island political scientist David Milne, who intends to vote Yes: "The survival of mainstream federal parties is on the line after a No vote. If the Liberals and the New Democrats are

unable to reach a consensus party warfare should ensue."

The case of constitutional failure would extend far beyond Ottawa. "It's a referendum on the Charter-based package," says Agnès Mennais, a political scientist at Austin University in Walsby, N.S., who says that if a No vote is cast "it has been a referendum on the package." A second refusal to recognize Quebec as a distinct society would paint Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa into an uncomfortable corner. Bourassa, criticized by many allies in Quebec for coming to its premiere for a first-hand comparison of the accord for the second time, would have to face a referendum on a Yes vote in Quebec and No votes in several other provinces—a rejection that would almost certainly force a provincial vote on sovereignty.

Likewise, a vote of approval from all provinces but Quebec as a prelude for authority. With

Pro-sovereignty march in Montreal the federal parties could be paralyzed

the rest of Canada unlikely to consider further concessions to Quebec, the Parti Québécois, with its promise to hold a referendum on sovereignty, would gain a huge advantage in a provincial election, expected by 1994.

Some conservatives, however, argue that majority No votes in several key provinces, such as Quebec, Alberta and British Columbia, could actually bring stability to the process. In such a scenario, they say, neither side could legitimately claim rejection—a factor that could initiate a constitutional consultation until at least after the next federal election. Eglar University of Toronto sociologist Raymond Denha, who says that he is an undecided voter: "It is difficult to establish blame when the reasons for the No votes are so ambiguous and blurred."

CONSTITUTIONAL AFTERMATH:

The death of the Charter-based deal would pressure the constitutional, if not political, status quo. Prominent Quebecers would argue that the province remains frozen outside the

constitutional family; the Minto and off-center nations would continue as non-entitled; and Parliamentary reform, including a elected Senate, might drop from the agenda.

Assembly of First Nations leader Ovide Mercredi suggested earlier this month in Quebec that "we can perhaps do even better" if the 17 negotiating parties reconvened quickly after a defeat. But most experts agree that the likelihood of a second wholesale attempt to rewrite the Constitution is a pipe dream. At best, and depending on what provinces vote Yes on Oct. 20, first round could amend those elements of the accord which require the support of only seven provinces with 50 per cent of the population, including Senate reform and the guarantee that Quebec will always hold 25 per cent of the seats in the House of Commons.

Alternatively, governments could bypass constitutional channels and proceed through a series of political accords to implement many of the proposed reforms. Said the University of Prince Edward Island's Milne: "Most federalists will want to recognize what they can out of it. If they sit on their hands and leave the status quo, it plays into the hands of people who want Canada to fall apart or to institutionalize itself."

For his part, Thomas Courchesne, director of public studies at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., argues that although self-government is already a reality in the North, with federal regulations payments a key component of the December, 1991, Yukon agreement, which gives natives control over such areas as social services, education and justice. Says Courchesne, a Yes supporter: "Much of the aboriginal self-government package can be achieved through the courts."

Even if the accord is rejected, the constitutional issue is unlikely to disappear from the national agenda. Constitutional experts agree that the political question cannot ignore the demands of special interest groups, such as women and natives. Added Brown: "It is unrealistic to expect all those groups who clamored for constitutional advantages to sit down, do nothing and let it go."

Still, some constitutional experts maintain that Ottawa has enough to do—and that productivity limited—range of options. The loosely worded referendum question asks Canadians if they agree with renewed federalism "as the basis of" the August 1987 Charter-based accord. Says Brown: "The ambiguity of the question allows Ottawa and the provinces to tinker with some elements of the deal—although only on marginal issues. Such a maneuver, however, sparks furthest, because any revisions would require dismantling a process of interdependent networks of giving and choosing from a lengthy constitutional superstructure. Canadians will likely have to decide whether to skip dinner—or opt for a full course meal."

By KATE FLEISHER and GLEN ALLEN and ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Ottawa





VOICES OF THE NATION

Prominent Canadians reveal their positions for the Oct. 26 referendum

Maclean's asked a number of prominent Canadians how they intend to vote in the Oct. 26 referendum on the Charlottetown accord. The magazine also contacted several well-known opinion-makers for their views on the country's current political climate. Their comments:

ERIC LINDROS, a London, Ont., native and senior editor with the Philadelphia *Philly* being a Canadian citizen. I can only hope that the political climate is settled with everyone's best interests and concerns ahead of Canada's ego issue and I would love to see the country remain whole.

JOHN POLANSKY, Nobel Prize-winning chemist, Toronto

In a way, I'm embarrassed to be voting Yes—I hope to find myself on the side of the elite. But we've had a consultation of an unprecedented kind and we've arrived at a document which reflects good sense, justice and compromise. We've got a collection of civilized words which we can have to translate into civilized action. I don't agree with the scare tactics. There are people voting in both directions that love Canada. I'm just urging people to allow that this is a time to make a leap of faith and join Canada to get on with its business.

W.P. KINSLEA, writer, *White Rock, B.C.* I've been on the No side from the start. I can't see how anyone from the West can support this. It's ludicrous to guarantee Quebec 25 per cent of the seats in the House of Commons. The population is going to move towards the Pacific Rim, but Quebecers just never going to give that up. As well, a powerful Senate is absolutely essential to the West. What we're getting is the same old trick, except more expensive. But there are some really strange beliefs in this debate. I never thought that I'd be on the same side of anything as that little woman, Pierre Trudon.

ANDRONOE HAMILTON, writer, *Montreal* I prefer not to reveal my intentions, but to defend my convictions in my own way. I agree that a referendum is necessary, since we are a democracy. But you can't do it with a lot of discretion. Sometimes, I look at the stars and I wonder what we are under all that, and how we will use everything in a century, in two centuries or in a millennium from now. So I don't get overly worried about it. I think that if there's a Yes or if there's a No, we'll continue to live the next day.



Lindros: 'the political climate'

DAN AYKROYD, an Ottawa native and an actor in *Los Angeles*

For my money, I would vote Yes. If the referendum is defeated, it is a clear signal to Quebec that it might be time to secede. If it passes, it sends a signal that we want to preserve the country, with Quebec as a distinct part. If that doesn't happen, then Canada is going the way of the rest of the world, which is back to being like France in 1830: all these privileges having their own self-interests, rivalries and competition. If Quebecers want independence, I hope they put their heads out of the ground hole long enough to see how rough it is out there, to see the strongest thing. But if they do not No, then we must do all we can to make it an amicable split, however painful.

TOMMY KANE, *Montreal native and a sports reviewer for the National Football League's Seattle Seahawks* I get angry when I see these problems contin-

ing. My teammates ask me what is going on in my country. I would like to tell Canadians to keep Canada as one. Down here, you don't see the state of California trying to separate. America as one and Canada should be the same thing—one country.

ALEX THREINER, a *Salt Lake, Ont., actor and host of the syndicated TV game show Jeopardy in Burbank, Calif.*

I don't like divorce. They get money and nobody benefits. You have to start with a basic premise: that Canada was formed as a bilingual federation over 300 years ago. Accept that, then learn to live together. If Quebec goes its own way, French-speaking people across the country are going to lose their rights. And Quebec won't be able to protect its language and culture through isolation. There are too many satellite dollars and there, bringing in TV from the United States and English Canada.

SHARON POLLOCK, playwright, *Calgary*

I am voting No. I see this accord embracing two cultures through isolation. It is a two track of a think charge and I am unhappy with it having citizenship on language and culture. My contribution should protect me from the things I don't like, not entrench them and give free rein to them. The basic problem is that of using two founding races: it does not reflect this country as the West. I find a smug Quebec sovereignty won't go away, regardless of this vote. I see Quebec as a nation to itself. We should have an arrangement that reflects just that—and the rest of the country should have a state that reflects its needs and aspirations.

ALEX COULVILLE, painter, *Windsor, N.S.*

The idea of a perfect constitution, like other ideas of perfection, belongs in the sciences and the arts, but not in human affairs or politics. It is totally wrong with the idea that this accord is not something that would banish everyone, forever. But this is the most that any reasonable person should hope for. If we have a No vote now, the country is finished. Within a decade there would be nothing left. For the Maritimes, it means the possibility of joining the United States. As for Quebec, I think they would be far worse off than they are right now.

MICHAEL KARTTKE, a *Toronto native, currently a London-based television host and columnist for the Observer*

I am depressed. Canadians of any generation have spent their entire adult lives in the midst of a constitutional crisis. Like everybody else, I



MARGARET ATWOOD, writer, *Toronto*

I am still undecided. I feel that I am a representative Canadian person. People don't know what questions they are actually being asked to vote on and some people will vote on questions that they are not being asked. They also cannot predict the consequences of this one way or the other. If I were the editor, I'd say "This is a media review." In this a year referendum or just a glorified opinion poll. Nobody would buy a refrigerator this way.

JIM GRAY, president and chief executive officer, *Canadian Pacific Exploration Ltd., Calgary*

I am very strongly in favor of voting Yes, because it is a good deal. The Charlottetown accord surely meets the aspirations of 27 million people living in different regions of the country. Nobody got everything they wanted as a supporter of a Triple-E Senate. I can appreciate that I just want us to get on with building this country. Voting No will set the country back, blur its own image. We are constitutionally handicapped.

ROBERT MACNEIL, a *Montreal native and co-host of the U.S. Public Broadcasting Service's MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour in New York City*

I sometimes feel that if all the people outside Canada who know and admire Canada were voting, the result would be an overwhelming Yes. The logic of Canada as a nation, viewed from outside the country, always seems to make 10 times more sense than it does inside. And accepting that there is a 30 million dollar view from the outside. I think Canada makes a hell of a lot of sense as a nation—with French Canada in it. I think it makes more sense that way than as two nations.

JACQUES BOEN, actor, *Montreal*

I'm voting No because I don't think the Charlottetown agreement gives Quebec enough powers to protect its special identity. Quebec needs the power to maintain control over its destiny in every field. And it's not just language and culture—it includes education, employment, job training, social programs of every sort. Ever since Confederation, Quebec has been gradually losing control. And I think this agreement is just one more step in the same direction.

LORNE NICHOLS, a *Toronto native and executive producer of CBC's Saturday Night Live, New York City*

I came of age in the 1960s, when all the talk was about the last part of the 20th century belongs to Canada. Lester Pearson was Prime Minister and Canadians were very open world-looking about their role in the world. Over the past 15 years, the debate has turned around. The big discussion all seems to be about Quebec. I appreciate why the French value their culture. But there is probably a way that can be found for them to live for something else than an economic partnership.

think it is a waste of a generation. I read the text that appeared in the papers in early October. I just felt that there was a very, very good conflict between the rights given to the Quebecois and the idea of equality rights for all Canadians. It might be time to ask Quebec's bluff. I am sympathetic to them, but we can't keep playing around with this. This might be the time to say "All right, because independence. But don't count on us to lead you out. Independence means just that."

TANTO CARDINAL, an *Anzac, Alta., native, actor and Indian rights activist living in Toronto, Calif.*

It's been a long light to get Canadian governments to recognize our right to govern ourselves. But it wasn't much more than we have the guarantee that it will be government as our terms and not dependent on whether other people like how we govern ourselves. I am interested to see what the people in the communities have to say. I am with my people, whatever they decide.



A VOTER'S HANDBOOK FOR THE REFERENDUM

What the accord says—and what it means

It is a rarefied, almost nostalgic touch, the 60-clause constitutional agreement at the outset of Oct. 26 referendum talks among the Charlottetown, after all, that politicians from Britain's North American colonies first discussed the timing of a federal union in early September of 1864. But the patriotic enthusiasm for the birthplace of Canada has overshadowed, perhaps more important, issues from the first Charlottetown Conference. It is now little known that the politicians went to Charlottetown under duress—French-Canadian leaders threatened to bring violence if hosted the gathering. The conference itself started three years of acrimonious debate. The fathers of Confederation squabbled over the division of federal and provincial powers, they fought bitterly over the structure of the Senate and other institutions. And when, after several meetings and compromises, they finally hammered out their basic constitutional document, the British North America Act, 1867, it was an oral text, devoid of poetry, in which different Canadians could discern vastly different visions of their nation.

Still, Canada has lasted 128 years. The new agreement is an intricate package that, if approved, would overhaul Canada's Constitution. Its wide-ranging proposals would alter the established division of powers, the interpretation of basic rights, the financial arrangements among governments and the very structure of such institutions as the Senate and House of Commons. Like the original Confederation pact, it is a uneasy compromise—as understanding that was realized and endured to the point that Ottawa, all 10 provinces, the two territories and four aboriginal groups were able to negotiate it in August, after six months of grueling, often vicious negotiations. More pointedly, in with the Confederation agreement, it offers an inspiring national vision. Like their predecessors in 1864, the negotiators entered a hushed, often-echoing silence under the auspices of the nation.

As a result, the accord is a fragile, almost fragmented document no government and no group got everything that it wanted, all recognized some elements that disappointed them. Each component is surrounded by a thicket of qualifications and conditions, many important programs require further negotiations. The West received an electoral Senate with equal membership from each province, no returns, Quebec received a guarantee of 25 per cent of the House of Commons seats, no matter how the national population shifts. Aborigines gained recognition of their aboriginal right to self-government, in return, aboriginal laws cannot be inconsistent with provincial and federal laws "which are essential to the preservation of peace, order and good government in Canada." Quebec received recognition of its distinct society; in return, the text outlines a partial, and probably limiting, delimitation of that society. Each negotiator, in fact, made concessions in some sections to receive benefits at others. In the referendum, Canadians will decide whether they can accept

those compromises. But both sides are also asking voters to weigh what will likely happen at the aftermath of the referendum. The accord's dramatic claims that it is a flawed document that will lead to too many disruptive changes. They say that if Canadians reject it, the nation will survive, new leaders will eventually forge better agreements. Its supporters, however, claim that the accord represents the best possible compromise among widely disparate interests. They add that if Canadians support it, these leaders can then turn their attention to pressing economic and social problems. As well, some 150 proponents warn that



rejection of the agreement might lead to the eventual breakup of Canada. In the end, the voters will pass judgment on the compromises—and the potential consequences. Over the past two weeks, each Canadian household was to have received a copy of the accord. The referendum question facing voters is deceptively simple: "Do you agree that the Constitution of Canada should be renewed on the basis of the agreement reached on August 28, 1995?" Yes. Or No. But there

are no easy answers, especially in the quiet confusion over that final heart of the agreement. In the following pages, Maclean's examines those key components—and the controversies surrounding their effects—in the order that they appear in the Charlottetown accord.

VERBATIM

The Canada Clause

(from the draft legal text of the Charlottetown accord)

1. The Constitution Act, 1867, is amended by adding therein, immediately after Section 1 thereof, the following section:

"12. (1) The Constitution of Canada, including the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the following fundamental characteristics:

(a) Canada is a democracy committed to a parliamentary and federal system of government and to the rule of law;
(b) The Aboriginal peoples of Canada, being the first peoples to govern this land, have the right to promote their languages, cultures and traditions and to ensure the integrity of their societies; and their governments constitute one of these orders of government in Canada;

(c) Quebec constitutes within Canada a distinct society, which includes a French-speaking majority, a unique culture and a civil law tradition;

(d) Canadian and their governments are committed to the stability and development of official language minority communities throughout Canada;

(e) Canadians are committed to racial and ethnic equality in a society that includes citizens from many lands who have contributed, and continue to contribute, to the building of a strong Canada that reflects its cultural and racial diversity;
(f) Canadians are committed to a respect for individual and collective human rights and freedoms of all people;

(g) Canadians are committed to the equality of female and male persons; and;

(h) Canadians confirm the principle of the equality of the provinces at the same time as recognizing their diverse characteristics.

(2) The role of the legislature and Government of Quebec to preserve and promote the distinct society of Quebec is affirmed.

(3) Nothing in this section derogates from the powers, rights or privileges of the Parliament or the Government of Canada, or of the legislatures or governments of the provinces, or of the legislative bodies or governments of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, including any powers, rights or privileges relating to language.

(4) For greater certainty, nothing in this section abrogates or derogates from the aboriginal and treaty rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada."

1. THE CANADA CLAUSE

The issue: Five generations, young Canadians have complained about the lack of an inspiring presence in Canada's Constitution. There is no poetic statement of national ideals and aspirations in the first paragraphs of the beginning of the Constitution Act, 1867. Instead, there is a laudably practical explanation that Confederation, with a Constitution that is "similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom," would help the governments and provinces of the British Empire. The controversial Canada clause began as a simple remedy for that lack of poetry. In September, 1991, Ottawa proposed the inclusion of a general statement that outlined what Canadians "are as a people and who we agree to be."

The agreement: After months of negotiations, the clause has lost its poetry—but it has vastly greater power than Ottawa had originally envisaged. The current version has become a four-section "interpretative" device that applies to the entire Constitution, including the Charter of Rights. Its list of "fundamental characteristics" is explicitly intended to guide the courts in their work through the jungle of competing rights and values.

The very last is contentious. It reads:

• **recognizing Quebec as a "distinct society," which includes a French-speaking majority, a unique culture and a civil law tradition;**

• **giving a role to the legislature and government of Quebec in governing and promoting that distinct society;**

• **committing Canadians—and their governments—to the vitality and development of official language minority communities;**

• **committing Canadians—to though not their governments—to racial and ethnic equality to the equality of men and women and to respect for individual and collective rights;**

• **recognizing the right of aboriginals to promote their languages, cultures and traditions and defend their governments as one of three orders of government in Canada, along with Ottawa and the provinces.**

The controversy: Opponents of the Charlottetown accord argue that the Canada clause would establish a "hierarchy" of rights because it commits governments only to the development and promotion of language rights—did not to racial, ethnic and gender equality. They also point out that the powerful clause does not mention the rights of such groups as the disabled and homosexuals.

In response, supporters of the accord point out that the Charter already affirms key rights as human rights rights are guaranteed equally to men and women, the law must treat each person equally without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability. They argue that the wording of the Canada clause does not allow the courts to tamper with these firm guarantees. Instead, they say, governments are the servants of Canadians, if Canadians are committed to an ideal, governments must do their best to achieve it. They blame the clumsy wording on the negotiators' mistake in pressing for balance—that is, the government of Quebec has the right to preserve

the distinct society—no Canadian and their governments should commit themselves to sovereignty-gauge rights.

Still, there is no doubt that the Canada clause could subtly affect key court decisions—only because it sets new character lines for the courts' consideration. The Charter already allows governments to set "reasonable limits" on rights, so one, for example, can see freedom of expression to be an individual. The Canada clause would put new factors into that search for delicate balance. It could have a definite to some decisions, such as the Supreme Court of Canada ruling in 1985 that Quebec constituted the Charter when it based the use of English in outdoor commercial signs (although that has customers because of the so-called anti-bilingualism clause, which allows provinces to maintain some legislation, even if it violates Charter provisions). Under the second, Quebec's status as a distinct society would influence the court to accept such a law.

2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC UNION

The issues: There are two—the first flow of goods, services, people and capital from the provinces and territories, and the guarantee of basic social rights to all Canadians. They became entwined when some politicians, mostly from the left, said that they could not support the Conservative government's proposed economic clause without the inclusion of a so-called social charter. On the economic side, provinces have often inhibited free trade with each other in order to protect the interests of local businesses. Federal efforts to

monies provide for fewer barriers to trade with the rest of North America than there are among provinces. On the social side, Ontario Premier Bob Rae and others supported the Constitution should include a list of social rights as a poignant reminder that Canadians have both economic and social goals.

The agreement: The Chartermakers agreed would commit governments to "the principle of the preservation and development of Canada's social and economic union." The economic union includes: the goal of full employment; the free movement of goods, services, people and capital; and working together to strengthen the economic union. The first measure would commit the courts to the principle of an independent agency to resolve disputes among governments. They would also set up a "mechanism for ensuring" the economic and social union at a future conference. The social union subcommittee's role: to assist access to housing, food and other basic necessities; a health care system that is comprehensive, universal, portable, publicly administered and accessible; and the preservation of the environment for present and future generations.

The controversy: The agreement means almost nothing. It makes little progress in the social and economic problem of removing economic barriers. It simply holds that challenge to future

in each province and territory." It is possible that the courts could interpret such a specific addition to favor weaker governments to make equalization payments to poorer provinces, even if those richer governments are themselves hard-pressed.

3. PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

The issue: Promotes in Atlantic Canada and the West have complained for decades that the federal government's interest in Central Canada at the expense of their interests. To remedy that, some provinces have demanded an elected Senate with an equal number of members from each province. They argue that an elected upper house would balance



the dominant influence of Ontario and Quebec in the House of Commons, where representation is roughly based on population. But that distorted images a clash between two visions of the nation. Many Canadians—especially in the West and Newfoundland—consider all provinces to be equal. But in Quebec, where there is a strong sense that French Canadians and English Canadians are the two founding partners of Canada, an equal Senate is widely seen as diminishing Quebec's special role within Confederation.

The agreement: The accord writes a careful line between those approaches. It changes how the Senate will be elected. It would require the 104-seat, appointed upper house in which Quebec has 24 seats, with a smaller, elected chamber, six seats for each province; one for each territory; and an additional, still unspecified number of seats for aboriginal peoples. Senate elections would be held in the same way as federal elections, each provincial government would have the right to decide if its voters or its legislature will elect its senators (only Quebec has indicated a preference for its legislature). Provinces could also stipulate that their Senate representatives include equal numbers of men and women.

To balance that recognition of provincial equality in the Senate, that accord would guarantee Quebec a minimum of 25 per cent of the seats at the House of Commons. As well, while maintaining 43 Senate seats, the accord would add 45 new seats to the Commons, creating a 337-seat chamber. Quebec would get 34 of those seats, Ontario 18, British Columbia four and Alberta two. (There would then be a further adjustment after the 1996 census to ensure that every province has at least 96 per cent of the seats that it would receive under strict representation by population.) The accord also provides for special voting procedures if a bill affects French language or culture that will have to receive a so-called double majority approval—majority of French-speaking senators as well as an overall majority of senators.

The accord would also create an intriguing new relationship between the Commons and the Senate. In theory, the current Senate can defeat even a bill passed by the Commons. In reality, the untested body has rarely blocked or even amended Commons bills. In contrast, the new Senate would have the potential to control even a bill passed by the Commons.

A simple majority of senators could defeat bills that make fundamental changes in the taxation of natural resources or electoral reform. And the new chamber could force the government to lay a second, hard look at most other legislation (although it can only delay bills spending bills for 90 days). Under the logic, if the Senate delays a bill, a joint Senate-Commons committee must attempt to find a compromise. If not, a simple majority vote in a joint Commons-Senate sitting, called the Congress, would determine the fate of the bill.

The controversy: Many detractors point to the Senate's original 56-per-cent representation as the Commons. They argue that other provinces, notably British Columbia, are growing that while Quebec's population is declining. But the accord's proponents counter that it forces and binds the Senate to make place within Canada. They also point out that the rough guidelines for representation by population would apply to the other provinces.

Some of the accord's detractors also dislike the restrictions on the proposed Senate's powers. They argue that it cannot overrule the Commons' legislative action or to defeat all Commons legislation—with the exception of basic money bills—through a simple majority vote. Proponents counter that with more than 66 per cent of Canadians living in Ontario and Quebec, senators who represent a minority of the population should not have the power to defeat all legislation.

4. OTHER INSTITUTIONS

The issue: The Constitution Act, 1982, barely recognizes the Supreme Court of Canada. It simply calls for the governments can name it. As well, the Constitution does not specify for a provincial court on the operation of the Bank of Canada, the nation's most influential financial institution. And it makes no provision for major federal provincial meetings.

The agreement: The accord would finally establish the Supreme Court as the Constitution Act, 1982—as a symbol of the court's importance to the nation. It also would create a new institution, the Council of the Federation, to advise the federal government on provincial issues.



concordance with the current Supreme Court Act, the accord would have one position, including those from Quebec. But the federal government, which has had exclusive power to appoint the judges, would make its selections from lists provided by the provinces and territories. The accord would also allow an elected Senate to block the appointment of the Bank of Canada governor. And it would establish a requirement for annual first ministers' conferences.

The controversy: Some opponents want a guarantee of more judges from outside Central Canada. Accord opponents also maintain that establishment of first ministers' conferences will encourage a trend towards "executive federalism"—the domination of important national policies by a select and often secretive group of ministers or first ministers.

5. SPENDING POWER

The issue: When the Fathers of Confederation created the nation, they divided the power to make laws between the provincial and federal levels of government. Their work was to establish a new nation in the Constitution Act, 1867, states that provinces have the right, among other things, to administer liquor licenses and to establish asylums, Orphan, in turn, regulates lighthouses and quarantine. The Fathers were equally careful to establish sources of revenue for these powers.

GETTING FROM THERE

The history of Canada's Constitution is a dramatic tale of changing views, political battles and a series of events.

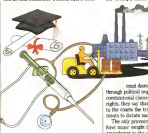
1867: After three years of often fractious negotiations by the Fathers of Confederation, the British Parliament passed their proposed constitution as the British North America Act, 1867. It detailed the division of federal and provincial powers, established courts, set basic rights, and described the structure of such institutions as the Senate. But it had a glaring flaw: it did not contain a formula for changing it. As a result, when Canada wanted amendments to its own Constitution, it had to ask Britain.

1980 to 1982: Ottawa and the provinces fought numerous court battles to define their powers. The disputes often involved around the interpretation of two key clauses: the extent of the provinces' power to regulate property and civil rights, and the interpretation of Ottawa's power to make laws for peace, order and good government in the areas of power. Little attention was paid to Canadian ability to change the 1867 Act.

1982 to 1979: As Canada began to play an increasing role in world events, dependence on Britain became an embarrassment. But Ottawa and the provinces could not agree on a plan over five decades, there were 10 unsuccessful attempts to bring the Constitution home from Britain with an amending formula. Meanwhile, the British Parliament complied with Canada's requests for constitutional changes in 1948, for once, it added unemployment insurance to the list of federal powers.

1980 to 1982: Impatient with provincial disagreement, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau introduced a parliamentary resolution that asked Britain to patriate the Constitution. But the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that unwritten constitutional conventions, or custom, required Ottawa to obtain an explicit "consent." Five weeks later, in a late-night deal, Ottawa and the provinces agreed to a plan—signed on a patriation package that included the Charter of Rights and an amending formula. In 1982, the Constitution came home—over Quebec's objections.

1982 to 1992: That Quebec document has fueled much of the debate through the past decade. The controversial Meech Lake accord of 1987, which recognized Quebec as a distinct society, was designed to win the province's acceptance of the Constitution. But that accord failed to win the required unanimous consent of provincial legislatures by June 1990—partly because it did not address the concerns of some activists. In response, the reformers in the Chartermakers agreed voluntarily to deal with the concerns of most regions and most groups. On Oct. 26, Canadians will decide if they have succeeded.



September, 1991, to negotiate the removal of those barriers have met resistance from many provinces on the grounds that they would threaten local economies. Recently, interprovincial barriers have become increasingly apparent as Ottawa negotiated free trade agreements, first with the United States, then with the United States and Mexico. Those agree-



ments, provinces can use direct taxation such as sales taxes. Ottawa can raise money "by any mode or system of taxation." But those 19th-century politicians overlooked a critical aspect of the federation: whether Ottawa could spend money on programs within areas of provincial jurisdiction.

That constitutional oversight has shaped the nation. After the Second World War, Ottawa poured money into shared-cost programs in many traditional areas of provincial responsibility: medicine, income support for needy persons, a generous funding program for universities. Federal spending has fostered the Canadian dream of a caring, expensive, social-safety net. But federal spending has also debarded many provinces, because Ottawa dominates the spending priorities—and because Ottawa often decides the shape of the programs. One point of contention, although the provinces are paying an increasing portion of the tab

8. DIVISION OF POWERS

The issue: When the Fathers of Confederation allocated federal and provincial powers, they could not foresee how modern technologies would blur their tidy categories. They made little provision, for one, for the protection of the environment. They could not have anticipated the birth of new technologies such as broadcasting and aerospace—although the courts eventually assigned those two fields to Ottawa. And they did not foresee that jurisdictions would increasingly overlap as governments became more active.

As a result, many provinces, especially Quebec, have called for an overhaul of the 1867 law they want more powers—and a clearer division of those powers.

The agreement: The Charlottetown accord contains two basic approaches to the distribution of powers. First, the accord tackles the so-called six sectors: forestry, municipal and other affairs, mining, tourism, housing and recreation. Although Ottawa spends about \$3 billion each year in those areas, it has always conceded that the provinces have the right to legislate in those fields. Under the accord, provincial jurisdiction would become explicit—and exclusive. If a province wanted Ottawa to withdraw from its programs in those fields, it would negotiate an agreement to obtain federal funds to continue those programs. Those agreements would guarantee the amount and the type of funding—and they would last for a maximum of five years.

Secondly, the accord allows for agreements in five fields of shared management: • Immigration: The accord provides for detailed federal-provincial agreements, which would likely be similar to a 14-year-old pact between Ottawa and Quebec. There, both governments set the selection criteria, and independent immigrants who want to settle in Quebec must meet Quebec's requirements.

• Labor-market development: Manpower training would become an exclusive provincial responsibility, unemployment insurance would remain a federal responsibility.

• Culture: The provinces would receive exclusive jurisdiction over cultural matters "within the province." Ottawa would maintain its responsibility for such national institutions as the Canada Council and the CBC.

• Telecommunications: The provinces must participate in the selection of members of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). They could also sign agreements that would allow them to regulate some telecommunications carriers, such as telephone companies, if they agree to harmonize their practices with Ottawa. It is not likely that Ottawa would

negotiate agreements that cover cable TV.

• Regional development: Both levels would retain first right to develop programs. But the federal government would have to negotiate regional development agreements at the request of individual provinces. Those agreements would likely set goals and funding.

The controversy: Detractors oppose the proposals for differing reasons. Some argue that they would create a "patchwork quilt" Canada if each province negotiated an agreement in each area, there could be hundreds of different arrangements. They also complain that those agreements would control federal funds for up to five years, even if programs changed. Other critics argue that the accord does not go far enough. Quebec nationalists, for instance, argue that the province requires the unequivocal transfer of more powers to promote its well-being. By contrast, the accord's supporters maintain that it constitutes a practical, flexible mechanism for adapting to a complicated, rapidly changing world: each province has the right to decide what powers it wants, each province has the right to change its arrangements.

7. ABORIGINAL RIGHTS

The issue: European settlement steadily limited native lands—and put severe pressures on traditional customs. As a result, native people now face a staggering array of social problems. Last week, a new illustration of their difficulties, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples reported that unemployment rates on some reserves are as high as 35 per cent—and the high school dropout rate is up to 80 per cent.

The two-age suicide rate is among the highest in the world. That devastation has deeply affected aboriginal leaders. Increasingly, in the courts, lawyers have asserted their peoples' rights to hunt and fish and to administer their own lands, closing their treaties with the British Crown, Royal Proclamations, and their inherent aboriginal rights.



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most complex copy sequences easy to use. Guide Mode takes you through the most complex copy sequences
step by step. As well, it automatically supplies front and back covers or dividers and you can even copy
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Here at home, walls impeding trade between Canadian provinces still stand but times are changing. The Free Trade Agreement has already forced Canadians to think on a North American scale.

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The agreement: The natives' determination—and their growing legal strength—resulted in a remarkable accord provision: constitutional recognition of their inherent right to self-government. The accord would allow the 613 Indian bands across Canada to negotiate individual self-government agreements with Ottawa, the provinces or territories. The 32,000 Inuit and the 500,000 Métis and non-status Indians, many living in urban centres, would also share that right. Five years after the self-government provision takes effect, negotiators who remained deadlocked could ask the courts to decide the scope of self-government.

The controversy: These provisions have caused economic uncertainty because self-government has not been defined. It could, for example, encompass such areas as health, education, justice, commercial law, environmental protection and resource management among the few clues to its possibly limitless

provincial lines "that are essential to the peace, order and good government of Canada." (So, the courts could largely restrict the use of that clause to defence, economy or military emergencies). Finally, there is no provision within the legal text to compel other governments to discuss aboriginal governments, instead, governments would negotiate outstanding political accords. That provision would leave Ottawa and the provinces with some control over the still-unadmitted cost of self-government.

There remains, however, a serious debate about the consequences of self-government. Its opponents argue that it could create a democratic, only law-enforcement would be to the notorious black townships of South Africa. They note that the charter's democratic rights do not apply to aboriginal governments in theory, aboriginal governments could deny the vote to their citizens or, they could allow natives to vote but deny the vote to non-natives living on their territory.

As well, the accord adds a new twist to the charter's limitations on mobility rights. Currently, the provinces can pass laws that hinder the right to move and to work within Canada—if those laws are designed to improve the condition of socially or economically disadvantaged peoples. The accord would extend that provision to aboriginal governments—but it would also in those governments restrict mobility to protect and to advance their languages and cultures. Critics say that the provision could allow reserves to be non-aboriginal workers from reserve-based industries.

The accord's supporters argue that Canada's bureaucrats have sufficed aboriginal peoples with non-democratic rules for more than a century—and that Ottawa still control Canada's reserves. As well, they maintain that Canadians should not assume that the British parliamentary tradition represents the only model for legitimate representative government. Indeed, many aboriginal leaders have operated through consensus for centuries.

8. THE AMBLING FORMULA

The issue: Quebec has always maintained that the Constitution Act, 1867, removed its traditional veto over major constitutional changes. Although the Supreme Court ruled in 1982 that Quebec's veto never officially existed, Quebec has vehemently denounced its outcome. Under the current complicated formula for amending the Constitution, there are only five scenarios for changing the status of the Quebec, which require the unanimous consent of the provinces (effectively a veto for all provinces). Other changes

require only the consent of seven provinces with at least 50 per cent of the national population. Quebec's dissenting parties and many other provinces believe, however, that to define a special status for that province Native people, in turn, are demanding a veto over changes that affect them.

The agreement: The accord would add three provinces to the list of those that require unanimous consent: Quebec, the Senate and changes to the House of Commons, including Quebec's 25-per-cent guarantee, and changes to the role and composition of the Supreme Court (the nomination process would remain subject to the so-called seven-veto rule). As well, the accord would turn back the constitutional clock to create a provision in the Constitution Act, 1982, that requires the consent of seven provinces with 50 per cent of the population for the creation of new provinces. Instead, Ottawa would regain its right to create new provinces through a simple act of Parliament—after first consulting all provinces at a first ministers' meeting. Then all provinces would have to agree before any new province received its allotment of six senators and the right to participate in amendments that affect other provinces. The accord also stipulates that aboriginals have to consent to constitutional amendments that directly refer to them.

The controversy: The accord's detractors say that uncertainty among governments is almost impossible. As a result, they add, it is dangerous to apply uncertainty to such a critical



act within Parliament. The accord's proponents counter that it should be difficult to change the basic structure of government. As for the admission of new provinces, Quebec nationalists claim that public pressure would force the existing provinces to cede Senate seats and amending powers to new provinces, resulting in a loss of status and power for Quebec. Other critics argue that new provinces should automatically receive the same rights as existing ones.

MARY JANKIN

PAINFUL HISTORY

Past referendums have aroused passions that left lasting scars

At the height of the campaign, the nation's halls and meeting rooms—even street corners and city parks—are alive with citizens locked in heated debate over the issue at hand. And the country is pelted with referendum literature. Almost twice as many pamphlets, brochures and posters circulate from coast to coast as there are Canadians—nearly a ton of 750 material, in three languages, for residents of the Northwest Territories alone. Both camps enlist prominent people to lend the virtues of their positions, and both maintain that the vote could be critical to an economy emerging from one of the worst economic slumps in the nation's history. The No side claims that a Yes vote would place a serious burden on the public purse through lost government revenues. Yes supporters contend that such a vote would "promote central prosperity." Those with the arguments nearly a century ago during Canada's first national referendum—a heated debate on the prohibition of alcoholic beverages that in some respects closely resembles the current referendum campaign on the Constitution.

The referendum goes to the very heart of democracy—a conviction that the people should be heard. In all, there have been more than a thousand similar public consultations in Canadian history, of which 55 were provincial and only two national in scope. Most were held in response to crises in the first half of the century, although there have been more recent ones, including the hard-fought 1984 Prince Edward Island

sovereignty-associated, in which a decisive majority of Quebecers voted against the proposal, forestalling the measure of sovereignty in the decade to come. As then-Prime Minister Lévesque said in accepting the people's verdict: "Until the next time."

The country's first national referendum, on prohibition, demonstrated the pitfalls of the process. On Sept. 26, 1896, Canadians cast their votes in an election that divided families and communities, sowed confusion and mistrust. It also set Quebec against other Canadians. Quebec voted No, the rest of Canada, Yes. And it did not lead to decisive action—or any action at all.

Pressure: Although the Yes vote was—278,385 to 284,852—a defeat of 1,233,637 voters—Liberal Prime Minister for Wilfrid Laurier was under pressure from the liquor industry and members of his own cabinet to ignore the results. The following spring, Laurier issued what only "a trifle over one-fifth" of registered voters "affirmed their conviction of the principles of prohibition." Cautious Laurier: "No good purpose would be served by forcing upon the people a measure which is shown by the vote to have the support of less than 20 per cent of the electors."

The country's second national plebiscite was the constitution referendum of 1942 after the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1938, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King had pledged that the government would not invoke constitution for overseas wars, which was as widely popular in Quebec than as a bad had been in the rest of the country. But as the war was imminent, the opposition and the public outside Quebec to change course and determined to circumvent the pledge. "I was the first person Mr. King ever deceived," it was, "Petersburg told Mackenzie." It was sometime in November of 1941, as he was driving between the Parliament Buildings and his home near evening. He asked one what he thought about having a referendum on it. Asked Petersburg: "After that, we discussed it three or four times before he went to the Cabinet with the idea."

For King, the vote was a potential political catastrophe. "Wacky," says Petersburg, "he decided not to hold a referendum on constitution until he got the freedom of the government to consent to constitution if it was really necessary." As a result, the question put to Canadians on April 27, 1942, was, according to



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Toronto historian Jack Greenwood, "a masterpiece of political ambiguity." It was framed without even using the word "constitution." It read: "Are you in favor of retaining the government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising taxes for military service?"

The missing campaign was hard-fought and bitter. Recalled Quebec writer and editor André Laurendeau in his 1962 book, *The Constitution Crisis 1942*: "Each side detected the

Canadian troop levels in Europe dropped to dangerously low levels. In the end, only 2,403 Canadian conscripts went to war, and then only in early 1945 as the fighting was winding down. But the loss was not of those from English Canada who fought, nor for Quebecers who did not. And the suspicion was mutual. Wrote Greenwood in his 1969 book *Conscription in the Second World War*: "After that, conscription leaders would ever be regarded with total confidence by French Canada."

Lévesque, on the No side, and Lévesque and his characteristic cohorts on the Yes side. But when the votes were tallied on May 22, 1942, the verdict of an electorate that had turned out in force—85 per cent of eligible voters cast their ballots—was a decisive 50-50-50 split. No. That night, a resigned, if crestfallen, Lévesque held a rally of supporters that the idea of sovereignty was wanted but not dead. "It will come and we will be here for it," he promised.

Before the vote was taken, then-Prime Minister Trudeau had cautioned that "we will not accept having a No interpreted as an indication that everything is fine and everything can stay as it was before." He vowed to bring home the Constitution from Britain and include Quebec in it. But Quebec refused to sign a subsequent 1981 accord that led to patriation. Later, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney launched another round of constitutional deliberations, the so-called Meech Lake process, designed to correct that vital omission. Meech finally failed in the summer of 1990. Further conferences, consultations, task forces and high-pressure negotiations during the spring and summer led to the agreement by 17 government, aboriginal and territorial leaders on the Charlottetown accord in August. On Oct. 26, Canadians themselves have their say on that agreement.

The current referendum has a lot in common with earlier ones. It will not be leading—and it is already generating high passions and growing divisions. Both sides Quebec, favoring a No vote, just as it did in the prohibition and conscription referendums. And as in these earlier ones, the results could well be ambiguous and new fac-

By contrast, the verdict of the 1984 Quebec referendum on sovereignty-associated was straightforward and conclusive. Lévesque's Parti Québécois government asked voters to give it a mandate to negotiate a new relationship with the rest of Canada. The government—elected on a stunning victory in 1976—had promised such a consultation in the election campaign, but did not honor the election's word. It set a referendum timetable with the end of 1979.

Continued: That winning, highly emotional campaign played family and friends in opposition to one another. It also called into play all the rhetorical gifts of such political heavyweights in Pierre Trudeau, Jean Chrétien and Claude Ryan, then leader of the provincial

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their conclusion. On the No side, various voting blocs and interest groups were reaching the same conclusion. Yes, very different reasons. "We could have all kinds of interpretations," said John McDonald, a political scientist at the University of Western Ontario. "It could be a real issue."

But because of the country's experience with the two other national referendums in which Canadians voted, Yes, very different reasons could lead to political frustration and lasting bitterness. The proponents do not hold well for post-referendum peace as the increasingly fractious forces on both sides launch their final assaults before Oct. 30.

GLEN ALLEN is Ottawa



King voting in the 1942 referendum for all his political delicacy, the results were decisive



A PRAIRIE ODYSSEY

Patriotism and western alienation combine to produce a volatile electorate

A young ethnic Greek from Turkey followed his childhood sweetheart to Canada 79 years ago. Their life now—how China Kikilos nursed his Anglophone, how they raised four children, how he started out selling poultry and popcorn from a pushcart and eventually saved enough to buy a restaurant—is portrayed in a family mural inside the C. Kikilos restaurant in Winnipeg. Kikilos died in 1957. But his children still run the business, and they speak of their father with evident pride. “He had such vision,” says 65-year-old Miley Kikilos. Her feelings for the country her parents adopted are equally

strong—even outweighing ill feeling about Quebec. In Winnipeg, she says, many people still resent the federal government’s decision to award the 1988 summit contract to a Montreal firm instead of a local company six years ago. And many are angered by Quebec laws that ban English-language signs in the streets. “But as far as I’m concerned,” she says, “I want a united Canada. And I’d probably vote Yes, because I love my country.”

That sentiment—the notion that it is patriotic to favor the Charlottetown accord—is a powerful factor among these Westerners who say that they plan to vote Yes to the Oct. 26

referendum. On the flip side, the Yes side’s implication that voting No is secessionist has fueled a long-burning resentment against government in general, and federal and Quebec policies in particular. Such indignation has always found fertile ground in the Prairies, a harsh land that nurtured a fiercely independent spirit among the early pioneers. And it lingers still: just ask a newcomer about the 1980 National Energy Program that set domestic oil prices below world levels. Many Westerners regard Canada as a federation of 10 equal provinces, a concept sharply at odds with Quebec’s notion of two founding nations. In fact,

many of those who plan to vote No seem motivated as much by a sense of western alienation as by opposition to any clause of the Charlottetown accord.

Still, the West is not a monolith—there are markedly different forces driving voters in each of the Prairie provinces. And each province that receives equalization payments, Manitoba and Saskatchewan have a vital stake in the federal system—Alberta less so. In a series of interviews in all three provinces, Macleod’s found that the mood is volatile.

Mary Kikilos is preparing for the coming term when Manitoba’s New Democratic Party Leader, Gary Doer, walks into the restaurant. A regular, Doer takes a seat at the counter and orders a plate of bacon and eggs. A few weeks earlier, when visitors of the Charlottetown accord were scarce, Doer brought one in—it is now available for anyone who asks. He says that the deal is good for Manitoba. With trans-

Saskatchewan faces a harsh land that has nurtured a fiercely independent spirit

businessmen could afford to eat in fancy restaurants. But a decade of low oil prices and trans-shipment accounts has crippled Calgary’s economy. These days, the few steak houses in the Sask Place—home of the \$2.95 grilled ham-and-cheese and the \$3 spaghetti plate—are doing brisk business. Among the noon-hour diners are three spouses engineers. William Ferguson, 43, David Lyman, 41, and Stephen Bell, 34—No, No, a Yes and an undecided voter, respectively.

“I think the deal goes too much power to Quebec,” says Ferguson, citing the province’s guaranteed 25 per cent of the seats in the House of Commons. “I object to any province having special powers.” Lyman agrees that he has reservations about those aspects of the deal. “But some of the guys made by the

for permits providing almost 28 per cent of the province’s budget, he says, it is important that the accord improves government for equalization. But he concedes that the vote will be tight. “It is not a referendum-proof proposal,” he says. If 15 per cent of the population is angry at Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, 15 per cent does not like making concessions to Quebec and another 15 per cent object to other parts of the deal, “you get trouble,” he says.

Trouble, in Doer’s terms, is sitting just a few seats away. Alfred Bilecki, 48, says that he is planning to vote against the deal. “I think if we vote Yes, then Quebec will have most of a say from the rest of Canada,” argues Bilecki, who organizes activities in a Winnipeg nursing home. “And Quebec needs Canada more than Canada needs Quebec. I think Canada could probably do without Quebec if it had to.” Another restaurant patron, unemployed master Barry Stole, says, “Maybe we’re grungy in the French too much.” But the 35-year-old Stole intends to vote Yes anyway. “These guys are some about leaving,” he says. “They could split and I don’t think you want to tear the country apart.”

Stacey McCurdy is paying close attention, taking notes and following along in her own copy of the Charlottetown accord. The 20-year-old political studies student is among more than 300 people crowding into a lecture hall at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon to listen to academics explain the deal, and to politicians debate its merits. But as he enters the exercise, McCurdy will seem confused. And the guys that she will likely vote No. “It’s uncomfortable that there are so many things that are being changed at the same time,” she says. “I want that I see any problem. I just feel like I’m being rushed into it.” Earl Shields, a 55-year-old ranch auctioneer sitting in the next seat, agrees. “What’s the big hurry? God didn’t say ‘Thou shalt vote by Oct. 26.’ Because didn’t?” Still, he tells McCurdy, “I’ve decided to say Yes for the same reason you’ve decided to say No.” Although the full implications of the accord remain unclear, he explains, “at least I Yes would be a little bit of a vote of confidence that we’re on the right track.”

In the days of the oil boom, when building cranes and lumber the Calgary skyline and former mayor Ralph Klein was calling against the “corruption and burn” from “other parts of the country” clapping the city’s polls, most businessmen could afford to eat in fancy restaurants. But a decade of low oil prices and trans-shipment accounts has crippled Calgary’s economy. These days, the few steak houses in the Sask Place—home of the \$2.95 grilled ham-and-cheese and the \$3 spaghetti plate—are doing brisk business. Among the noon-hour diners are three spouses engineers. William Ferguson, 43, David Lyman, 41, and Stephen Bell, 34—No, No, a Yes and an undecided voter, respectively.

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photography is good,” says Lyman. “And as far as Senate reform, I think Alberta comes out good in the deal. Under the new Constitution, it would be a lot more difficult for someone to come along with a National Energy Program.” But says that if the legal test improves “what they did to us before,” he will probably vote Yes. But he has reservations of his own. “From what I’ve heard, they’re making some pretty far-reaching social guarantees,” he says. “If it’s part of the Constitution that it’s basically a welfare state, well, I’m always a little concerned when you tell people they get things for free.”

The consequences of the vote are as contentious as the accord itself. Says Lyman: “We have a fringe force and then, the Quebec separatists, who will use a No vote to start a snowball effect. I think of his book of apocalyptic to take, and I don’t see enough wrong in the document to take those chances.” But Ferguson is adamant: “I don’t think the Quebec people are that naive or stupid,” he insists. “And I’m not convinced at all that it’s so matter what the risk. Let’s put this in the drawer for 10 years.” But feels something refreshing in the whole debate. “The one thing I really like about this thing,” he says, “is that it’s a national vote. It’s the democratic way. I just hope people read the deal.”

It was supposed to be a banner year, plenty of rain and a bumper crop. But then temperatures plummeted and frost damaged the grain fields of southern Manitoba, just as heavy hail rains kept the farmers from harvesting their crops. By early October, less than half the crop was in the hands of processors. Inside the towering white United Grain Growers elevator in Gladstone, 130 km northwest of Winnipeg, the effects of the fall weather are keenly felt. Elevator manager Jim Caruthers says some corn eaten is a specially designed plastic roller, applies the grain to a strip of tape and a scanner. The scanner detects the color of the seeds, are an acceptable yellow shade, but



Cannibals count five that are green. That, he tells the farmer, means that it is only Grade 2, worth \$3.63 a bushel instead of \$5.34 for top-grade seed. Infected by the rooseau and depressed green means, the low-quality yield has not improved the disposition of poorer farmers say. And the low harvest means that they have less than due others to credit over the Charlevoix area.

"I haven't made up my mind," says 37-year-old farmer Robert Adams, as he takes a seat behind the circular rose-garden desk. "I don't know all the facts and the majority of people don't know what we're getting out of the deal." But in a common Quebecer's getting more than a dollar. "The Senate is a step," says Adams. "But they've added the House of Commons seats to Quebec. Again, it's a matter of, we're getting something, but they're also getting more than they already had."

Adams of Quebec runs deep. "People think they're getting more than their fair deal out of Confederation," explains Adams. "How many federal jobs do they get, how many contracts—and the disparity of English signs in Quebec makes a general's crown." It goes back to the Second World War, Adams says, when Quebecers need overvaluedly against conscription. "That alienated the rest of the country right there," Adams says that he has no objections to Francophones celebrating their own culture. "They're different folks," he concedes. "But so are the Palestinians and Chinese, and they don't want to integrate and change the whole system."

But what if the concept of two founding nations should not the French-Canadian have more rights than other ethnic groups?

Manager Carrière, who has just walked out his office, shakes his head. "The French were best," he says. Adds Adams: "You can't go back and change history." Where Adams wants to see change is at other issues—unemployment and rural depopulation—and the constitutional deal has diverted the nation's attention.

"We're falling while others learn," he says. Adams does not accept discussion about a No vote, either. "They're trying to scare us into it," he says. "Millions dropped the dollar just by blabbing." He compares those gloomy projections to rumors that push down commodity prices. "It's like the grain crisis," he says. "We had to remove, well an fact, because the fact is usually someone out in bed as the perception of it. I don't believe Quebec will separate."

The Tuesday night inquest at the Yorkton Hotel Adams is in full swing, but this time it's not playing up to par. A 38-year-old labourer who packages butter at the local dairy produc-

ers' cooperative, 170 km northwest of Quebec, Cross has been working for 14 years. But on his last tour he only finished over three of five pins for 10 points. Cross's teammates say that a reporter, asking questions about the Constitution, has broken his concentration. But Cross does not object—he has strong feelings about the Charlevoix record. "I've pretty much decided No," he says. "I've got nothing personal against the French. But I think Quebecers

system that allocates equal seats to each province. "I still think it should go by population," he says. "Let's face it, Ontario and Quebec are where most of the people are." Cross picks up a ball and knocks down all five pins. His teammates do not seem to resent the reporter's presence so much anymore.

Returning to his seat, Cross concedes that he might be convinced to change his mind—maybe. If I were to visit Quebec and really understand where they're coming from, see it through their eyes." He adds: "I'd like to see what the average local-linguist Joe in Quebec thinks about it." Cross picks up a ball and bowls another strike. As he walks past his teammates, there are high-fives all around.

Lillian Knapp is an 81-year-old dynamite. A lifetime staff sergeant in the armed forces, a mother of three foster children and two adopted children and the author of five books on local history, Knapp is the matriarch of High River, a farming community of 5,000 people in southern Alberta, the town where Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark grew up. Knapp, a staunch Conservative who used to act as the party's national executive committee, knew Clark from the days when she worked as editor of the High River Times, a weekly newspaper then owned by Clark's family. But when news of the referendum hit town, and fellow residents began peppering her with questions, Knapp felt handicapped by her Conservative ties. "I knew they wouldn't believe me because I was part-time," she says. "And I started thinking, I believe in this, what should Lillian do?"

Canadian who campaigns about the electorate's apathy could find solace in Lillian Knapp. She decided to invite some of her political friends, a Reform party supporter, a prominent Calgary Liberal, Conservative MP Kenneth Bligh and government House leader Pierre Audet, to explain why they are all voting for the deal. (She also asked a New Democrat, but he was busy.) Then, she brought an ad in the Times inviting the public to a meeting in the common room of Spence House, the apartment building the seniors where Knapp lives. She says that she did not use the 90-cap coffee pot, "because that would look silly if only 10 people came." But 50 people showed up, and she had to fill the 30- and 40-cap pots three times over. Says Knapp: "I think seniors are beginning to realize they've been

Adams: 'The Senate is a step—but they've also added the House of Commons seats to Quebec'

want the other nine provinces to visit them so bad that they're going to get into it what they want." No matter which way the vote goes, he adds, "my own view is that they'll end up splitting up from Canada. I hope they don't, but if they do go out on their own, hopefully it doesn't work out for them and they'll want to come back."

While many westerners are willing to accept concessions to Quebec in exchange for a Triple E Senate, Cross has his reservations about a

body language

n. the nonverbal imparting of information by means of conscious or subconscious bodily gestures, posture, etc.



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gives a lot of misleading information from the other side."

Her own politics are rooted in a Prairie upbringing. My father brought me up to take so interest in politics," Knapp says. "He was a firm whistler. At the time, all our grain was being shipped to Ontario to be milled and the flour shipped back. Later, one of the foster children she took in was a status Indian. The Charlottetown accord, she says, "is the first time in 125 years that we have shown any pragmatism on the Indian issue—for the first time I'd vote Yes." But she also approves of Senate reform, and the transfer of powers to provinces. She was brought up, she says, at a time when whistlers regarded themselves as victims of Central Canada. "Even if that were true," Knapp adds, "at least now we are working together in a country. I don't see that as an ideal package, but I see it as a breakthrough."

A steady road blows across southern Manitoba. The land is so flat one can almost imagine the curvature of the earth toward the distant horizon, a panorama interrupted only by power lines and the occasional grain elevator. There on the prairie, 70 km south of Winnipeg, is St. Jean Baptiste. A sign on the shoulders of lanes declares its claim to fame, "Scap-Pea Capital of Canada," a recognition of its role as one of the first crocots of yellow peas produced in the West. But more than that, St. Jean is a francophone community of 850 people, complete with its Cause Populaire credit union and a grocery store where shoppers conduct transactions in French. Marcel Maron, a local plumber and president of Manitoba's francophone cultural committee, has towns where French is being grand. In des Champs, St. Adolphe, Ste. Agathe, Kamourang the language alive in St. Jean Baptiste, he says, is a constant struggle. And even a Yes vote will not make it any easier. "We'll still have to fight," he says. "It's a never-ending battle. But to me, the economy is more important right now than the Constitution."

In fact, the Saskatchewan-Montreal (SME), which represents Manitoba's 25,000 francophones, has come out in favor of the Charlottetown accord. "We want a strong independent Canada," says SME president Georges Drouin, who lives in St. Boniface, a francophone suburb of Winnipeg. "It's certainly an important step in that direction." He adds "Francophones outside Quebec favor a strong central government, because many times the



Green, Knapp (below): I'd like to see what they average before long Joe in Quebec thinks'

provisions have diluted our rights. Quebec is looking for a very decentralist system. So we are on different wavelengths."

Although Maron says that he wants to read more about the accord before committing himself, he adds that he is leaning toward a Yes vote—and is concerned about the consequences if the deal fails. "It's a catch," he says.

"Are Quebecers going to support us if they secede? We don't know." Being closer to his home outside St. Jean Baptiste with his wife, Paulette, 61, and their children, Natalie, 9, and Gabriel, 13, Maron says that he does not trust Quebec politicians for not representing other francophones at the constitutional table. But he would like to see Quebecers show greater interest. "Maybe they could teach their children that we exist, our history maybe," he offers. "They come out here and they still talk it's better on the phone."

Marcel and Paulette talk with considerable pride about their history. After 1916, when the province abolished teaching in all languages other than English, they say, teachers in St. Jean and other francophone communities defied the law to teach in French. Maron says that school inspectors used to make surprise visits, and that he and other students had to hide their French texts

when they came. "Being young," he says, "we thought that if we got caught there'd be real problems, that they'd cut our tongues off or something." Those restrictions eased gradually. But it was not until 1970 that the province passed a law permitting the establishment of French-language schools. Now, Natalie and Gabriel study in French. But the community faces other obstacles—English TV and music have taken their toll. Marcel marriage laws, as well. "The kids are English," says Marcel, Paulette agrees.

"You see it already in the school here," she says, "where our parent in English and see French."

Near the edge of Bourdy's Indian Reserve north of Saskatoon, a simple stone cairn marks the site of the first battle of the 1885 Northwest Rebellion, when Métis and Indian fighters under Gabriel Dumont took on a more powerful government force. Now, the rolling countryside near the cairn is dotted with simple aluminum-sided hangars. Colorful rows of laundry flip in the warm autumn breeze.

But as peaceful as the area seems, resentment of the government still lingers. "Canada only came into being in 1867, and Saskatchewan became province in 1905," says David Swenson, 44, a long-haired member for 14 years of the Peace. "But we had land, territory, laws, culture, language. We know that we have always had rights to self-determination." The Charlottetown



Photo by [illegible]

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THE SECOND ANNUAL

MACLEAN'S REPORT ON AND RANKING OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES





town accord, says Senegalese, finally recognizes those rights. "For once," he adds, "the Indian people are part of the process."

Many Indian chiefs in the West have come out against the accord. They argue that the deal could jeopardize such treaty rights as free education and exemption from taxes that they negotiated with the Crown more than a century ago—and that it unfairly puts the Métis on the same footing as status Indians. But at Beaulieu's, which, like other restaurants, is struggling with a host of social and economic problems (including 88 per cent unemployment), the accord seems popular. "A lot of things don't work for us on the reserve—the tax, the health-care system," says 27-year-old Todd Swerland, who cooks at a restaurant and gas station owned by the band. "With self-government, we'll be able to decide what kind of businesses we can put on the reserve." He says that the band should establish a rehabilitation centre for mental disorders. "It's better if they stay close to home," he says.

"You see criminals go to jail and come back and do the same thing over. Maybe we can train them, give them a better chance."

Wendee Laurence Gauthier, 25, also supports the deal. But she has concerns. "With self-government," she says, "it's kind of scary. In some ways it would be good, but in some ways I'm not sure. Would it take our treaty rights away? In years to come, would I have to pay for everything?"

Senegalese argues that the Charlottetown accord only recognizes Indians' rights to self-government—that the details will have to be worked out between the federal government and each Indian nation. At Beaulieu's, he says, they will maintain an elected band council, along with an advisory senate made up of band elders, most of them former chiefs. "But the bottom line," he says, "is that every individual band has their individual view of self-determination. What is good for Beaulieu's is not necessarily good for the Métis or the Eastern Chippewas or the Timiars in the West."

But Senegalese is not sure that the deal will pass at all. "If the Yeo is defeated," he says, "we're going to have to start all over again. But we are one of the most peaceful people around. My great-grandfather was assassinated in 1875 when his treaty was denied. My grandfather and father lived under the thumb of the Indian Act. Hopefully, my children and grandchildren will be able to determine their own future."

North of Edmonton, the brownish patchwork quilt of farm fields ends abruptly where the northern border begins, a dense wilderness of trees and raging rivers. Further still, at a

head of the mighty Athabasca north of the 56th parallel, lies Fort McMurray, an arch frontier post as any southern prairie settlement was a century ago. A hub-trading town of 60,000 more than 3,000 people before Suncor opened its first tar-sand plant in 1967, Fort McMurray has burgeoned to a city of 34,700 Suncor and Syncrude—which began open-pit mining in 1973—produce about 215,000 barrels of oil a day and employ 60 per cent of Fort McMurray's workforce. It is a young city, according to a recent census, 89 per cent of the population is under 45 years of age. And at a public debate for city council elections, the candidates all list among their accomplishments their length of residency—most of

circumstances, keep our country together. We've got to give it a try."

That comment unleashes a barrage of contradictory views from around the table. "We're Proton Mining supporters, we're No votes," explains Selwyn Ott, the 41-year-old manager of a firm that consults on the flycatcher. John Morrison, a 46-year-old neo-classical designer, adds, "If Quebec likes it, there's something wrong with it." Both Morrison and 45-year-old dentist Lloyd Lines say that the Charlottetown accord considers too much to Quebec, and that Alberta did not get enough in return—that the reformed Senate would be ineffective.

Stater intervenes: if Quebec was getting so



Katane (left), Marcel, Paslette and Gabriel Marlow keeping French alive in Manitoba in a "never-ending battle"

them 10 to 15 years. "That's important here because Fort McMurray is somewhat transient," explains Carolyn Baile, the 47-year-old manager of the chamber of commerce, who moved to the city from Edmonton eight months ago. "People used to put make their furthest and leave. Now it's changing."

It may be changing, but slowly. Many of the tar-sand workers still commute the 435 km to Edmonton on weekends. And as independent spirit—as well as a vague sense that Alberta has been getting short shrift in Confederation—appears to no longer slide away. After the snap election debate, some of the candidates and their supporters retire to Marlow's sports bar to talk politics and watch the Blue Jays play the Oakland Athletics in the American League championship series. Among them is David Sitar, 42, who is running for council for the first time. "I will vote Yes," says Sitar. "We must, under all

such sort of the Charlottetown accord, she adds, why are polls suggesting that the province will vote against it? "Quebec and Ontario have been ripping us off for so many years," explains Lines. With their consciences on the Senate, he adds, "It's like somebody cut off one of their fingers so they can only take so much money. They don't like it. But all I see is fingers."

Sitar tries another tack. "Maybe it's time we stopped saying 'us' and 'them' and start thinking of the whole country," he says. "Jean Chrétien, if this thing goes No, I can see the dollar going 'poor'." That argument does not appear to sway anyone, either. "Nobody wants to split up the country," says Lines. "But I've got four kids and I don't want them to grow up sending their money out all the time." He says that he knows it is difficult to forge constitutional compromise. "If there's a No, there will be another long, long, long haul" to strike another deal, he adds. "But it's better than settling for second-best. I'd rather wait 100 years for perfect than settle for something half-baked."

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PORTRAIT OF QUEBEC



They first encountered each other in political combat 22 years ago—bribe, posing economic adjustment uncertainty to public life, both in the wake of recently completed political odysseys. On one side, was a shy, slony 36-year-old Robert Bourassa, leading the Quebec Liberals into the April 1976 Quebec provincial election, just three months after becoming party leader. Two years earlier, he had flirted with the idea of Quebec independence during talks with René Lévesque and others in the seining Forti Québécois, before finally declaring his commitment to the Liberals' not Independent, Pénier him in 1970 was the playing farmer consistent to the provincial finance ministry, Jacques Parizeau, then a party member 36-year-old businessman. In that election, the first featuring a credible, pro-independence party, Bourassa and his Liberals swept most 90 candidates made, Parizeau included.

Now, tried by more than two decades of political wars, Bourassa and Parizeau are still present, still among their separate visions for Quebec. And that 1976 provincial election now presents as just one battle in a seemingly endless conflict over Quebec's place in—or out—of Canada. Since then, other pivotal events, notably the 1980 referendum on sovereignty, association, have battled what has become a national political obsession over constitutional change. The debate has widened to encompass other political issues, from native rights to Senate reform. But as the Oct. 26 referendum on the Charlottetown Accord approaches, the principal participants in Quebec remain as unchanged as the directions they debate.

Bourassa and Parizeau are not exceptions. The unresolved issue of Quebec's relationship to Canada has come to define the careers of a whole generation of Quebec politicians, from René Charbonneau, leader of the Parti Québécois to former prime minister Pierre Trudeau. Federal Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien has been a crusader for Canada within his own province since first being elected to the House of Commons in 1963. Claude Ryan, a senior minister in Bourassa's government, played

*THE BATTLE OVER
QUEBEC'S ROLE IN CANADA
HAS FEATURED THE
SAME COMBATANTS FOR
MORE THAN 20 YEARS*



*The Château Frontenac
near the Plains of Abraham*

a central role is not only the 1980 referendum, but as such critical moments as the 1970 October Crisis. Even Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has grappled with the issue of Quebec's role within Canada for three decades—he was a central exponent of the turbulent 1981 Congress on Canadian Affairs at Quebec City's Lével University.

That compartmental look still life reflects the respect and importance that Quebecers accord their political leaders. But to many

remind us of 1980. Then, the opposing voices of the province's future were personified by the charismatic and emotional Lévesque, up against the icy Cartesian logic of Trudeau. Although they clashed, their messages were often united. Trudeau spoke glowingly of a Canada in which francophones would feel at home from coast to coast, while Lévesque talked of the pride and advantages of building a Quebec nation.

The 1992 referendum has no such life-

cause the Meech Lake proved the two sides no longer understood one another.

That disenchanted with Canada also affects the Yes supporters. There's a little tension of the rest of Canada in the Yes side's campaign because, conceding one minor surprise, "after Meech, it is pretty hard to sell people on feeling good about the rest of the country." And when Canada is mentioned, it is in strictly pragmatic terms, emphasizing the economic benefits of federation.



Guarante (left) greeting Parizeau before last week's televised debate: the final cry of an old generation

young Quebecers, it demonstrates something more troubling: a sense that this current round of constitutional negotiations has been the final cry of an old generation, whose eyes are fixed more firmly on the judgment of history than on modern concerns. In a recent interview with *Maclean's*, Marc-Aurèle Lévesque, a 52-year-old law student at the University of Sherbrooke, declared: "There is not one politician out there who has had a new idea in the past 25 years."

From the beginning of the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s to the postreferendum lull of the early 1980s, Quebec's best and brightest mostly looked to careers either in partisan politics or the province's highly professional civil service. But now, the effort of nation-building no longer inspires young Quebecers, and many have turned their backs on politics. "There is an unbelievable amount of cynicism directed at politicians," said federal Environment Minister Jean Charest, who became a member of Parliament in 1984 at 26. "And what is most disturbing of all is how much of it comes from young people."

That despair is reflected in the bleak approach of both sides in the present referendum campaign. For better and for worse, the campaign leaders look often disengaged, resigned and emotional appeals that both sides

apped to a better life. Its theme is fear. From the Yes side, fear means the threat of economic prudence should the province's Parizeau and Bocharon opposed that Quebecers will not be moved by threats and predictions of crippling consequences. But they, too, raise fears—of Quebec losing its power to promote its language laws, or of being powerless to fight off outside claims to parts of Quebec territory should the Charvetians succeed go through.

One reason for the sour tone is that each group includes people who have seen their past hopes dashed. The No side is primarily led by separatists—many of them deeply disillusioned by their loss in the 1980 referendum. Their ranks are swelled by the many Quebecers who swore on independence after the failure of the Meech Lake accord two years ago. One of those authors and lawyer Christian Desautel, who was an ardent supporter of that agreement. But in his new book, *Le Républicain*, Desautel argues that Quebec must now leave the "courage to reconstitute" its "vulnerable nation" with the rest of Canada, be-

cause the Meech Lake proved the two sides no longer understood one another. That disenchanted with Canada also affects the Yes supporters. There's a little tension of the rest of Canada in the Yes side's campaign because, conceding one minor surprise, "after Meech, it is pretty hard to sell people on feeling good about the rest of the country." And when Canada is mentioned, it is in strictly pragmatic terms, emphasizing the economic benefits of federation.

Some prominent Yes supporters say that Quebecers would respond well if they were given more power over such issues as health care, Charest, who frequently discusses his pride in being Canadian during speeches in his Sherbrooke riding. "People still feel a real emotional connection to Canada, but they need to hear someone say it far than," he acknowledges that "there are a lot of bruised feelings within Quebec." Because of that, Quebecers in both sides will likely wake up on Oct. 27 with ambivalent feelings, no matter what the final result. And even if Quebec says Yes to Canada, the atmosphere of mutual suspicion will probably continue.

Yes supporters, such as Treasury Board President Olin Louche, argue that an agreement would mark a first step to ending those suspicions. "A Yes would acknowledge that we and the rest of the country want to keep working together," he said. "Even if it is a No, Quebecers cannot ignore the fact that we still must work and live alongside the rest of Canada." As they prepare to cast their ballots on Oct. 28, many Quebecers, not in Constitutional war as other Canadians, will reflect on whether that association is still a welcome prospect—or merely a frustrating reality.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH is in Montreal.

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THE NEW NISSAN
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SEPARATE VISIONS

Lucien Bouchard looks towards the defeat of the Charlottetown accord

Two political conventions have been as quotable as those of Lucien Bouchard. A lifelong Quebec nationalist, Bouchard accepted Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's overtures and joined the federal Conservative cabinet in 1986. But he bitterly quit the Tories—and shattered his 36-year friendship with Mulroney—when the government contemplated changes to the Meech Lake accord in 1990. Bouchard now leads the sovereigntist Bloc Québécois and is a champion of the referendum.

Maclean's: Some leaders of Quebec's No campaign say that a No vote would force the rest of Canada to give Quebec more powers. Do you agree? **Bouchard:** All sovereigntists, when a No vote will be for sovereignty. But we know we will still face people who think new attempts are possible. And we know that they will have powerful arguments, when a No vote will be for sovereignty. But we know we will still face people who think new attempts are possible. And we know that they will have powerful arguments, when a No vote will be for sovereignty. But we know we will still face people who think new attempts are possible. And we know that they will have powerful arguments, when a No vote will be for sovereignty.



Bouchard: Even after sovereignty, we need to strike agreements

Maclean's: But would you see any point in new talks? **Bouchard:** No. I have known since [the failure of Meech Lake in June, 1990, that it is not possible that I don't believe people like Joe Clark and Mr. Mulroney who say that English Canadians will stop talking with Quebec after a No vote. And the future is a long time: there are very powerful connections of geography and history. I don't believe that a wall will ever be raised between Quebec and Canada. What ever we do in Quebec, it will always be possible to sit down and talk with reasonable people. The best thing for us to do is to go to a referendum on sovereignty.

Maclean's: So after a No vote you would call for a referendum on sovereignty? **Bouchard:** We always said two things. First, a

No will not be a green light for sovereignty. That will have to come from a specific referendum on that question. That's why many people will vote No without any anticipation of sovereignty—just even to oppose sovereignty. Second, we sovereigntists will still push for sovereignty after a No. This is clear.

Maclean's: If there is a No vote, will you still push for sovereignty? **Bouchard:** A No vote would have to be assessed in terms of consequences, both collective and personal. I have not come yet to personal decisions. If there would be a No to referendum in Quebec, many people would have to be reassured and call a meeting.

Maclean's: It appears as though many English Canadians outside Quebec will vote No. What difference does that make to voters in Quebec? **Bouchard:** We have mixed feelings, because we feel this [No] is not enough for Quebec, and others think it is too much. But on the other hand, many of the reasons supporting an English Canadian No are shared by us, such as the concern that a No would give us an unworkable country, and the fact that the process was terrible, and that the referendum deal raises questions of democracy. For example, how would be the rights of non-sovereigns living in bilingual territory, governed by a sovereign government?

Maclean's: What if there is a No vote? **Bouchard:** Yes. Absolutely. We know that Mr. Bouchard has spoken highly of the European Community solution. Personally—and I think [Paris] Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau would tell you the same—I would vote Yes if the offer from English Canada had been the Maastricht treaty [on common foreign and economic policies among sovereign European states]. Even after sovereignty, we would have

to see that some parts of English Canada will say No. **Maclean's:** Was there any kind of emotional attack that could have stirred you? **Bouchard:** Yes. Absolutely. We know that Mr. Bouchard has spoken highly of the European Community solution. Personally—and I think [Paris] Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau would tell you the same—I would vote Yes if the offer from English Canada had been the Maastricht treaty [on common foreign and economic policies among sovereign European states]. Even after sovereignty, we would have

to make agreements, share things in common. But I know for a fact that English Canada is not ready for that. They are just ready for very small, slight things that I hope will be reduced by Quebecers on Oct. 30.

Maclean's: Critics accuse the No side of stalling just about the province's economic future if the accord fails. Is there really any difference between that tactic and the No side's claim that a No vote will endanger 500,000 and the French language?

Bouchard: This kind of question always arises in that there are double standards. We have had a very peaceful debate on the No side—as little emotion as possible. But questions were asked about the fact that languages might decide to contest some of the powers of the No side. There is some kind of uncertainty there. On the other hand, we never used language like Clark's, for example, when he referred to Lebanon's problems, to Yugoslavia, to the prospect of civil wars. I know that if someone on our side used such language, they would be dead politically. We are a democracy, and we all have to accept the verdict at the end of the referendum—we accepted that in the 1980 referendum in Quebec, and we will again in 1995 if we lose.

Maclean's: If there is a referendum on sovereignty next year and the result again is a No, is there a point at which that would be final?

Bouchard: I do not know. There will have to be a referendum on sovereignty some day. People will ask the government to cure the economy after Oct. 30 because the economy is in such terrible shape. So I do not think we are looking ahead at a series of referendums immediately after the result.

Maclean's: Are you sorry that Meech did not pass in its original form?

Bouchard: I have a feeling of a great occasion lost. Sometimes, in our private lives, we spend great occasions. But here, it was on the scale of a whole country. A continent-wide country. A great historical occasion was lost in which we could have healed a wound and built a new basis for a future together. And now the future will be deferred. And for all those Quebecers who gambled on federalism, and who took personal risks in doing that, it was the single sign that they had failed and that they were wrong in taking that risk, and that the only way left to succeed was through sovereignty. We do not know how federalism now feels. I guess there are still federalists who feel we should make another attempt. Maybe they are right, maybe they are wrong. But now the people of Quebec must decide between them and us. □

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"On working the river we had a view of the land for more than 30 leagues round about. Towards the north there is a range of mountains, running east and west, and another range to the south. Between these ranges lies the finest land—living arable land and flat. And in the middle of this, one saw the river, extending beyond the first colony on both left and right. At that point there are the most important rapids, which we were unable to pass."

—Jacques Cartier's chronicle, Oct. 2, 1535

The view from Mount Royal has changed drastically since that crisp and sunny summer day, 487 years ago. If Cartier were able again to scale the wooded hill he named in honor of the king of France, chances are he would be astonished at the transformation. But it is just as likely that he would still recognize the place, for all of the essential landmarks daily noted by the explorer's anonymous chronicler remain now largely as they were then. The distant mountain chain is still visible from lookouts; the Laurentians march across the northern horizon, as they threatened a Green Mountain to the south. The forested island that was once a welcome still dominates the island of Montreal, rising more than 760 feet from a point at about the exact center of the city. And each of the rolling hill's two peaks and offers a stirring panorama of the St. Lawrence River, including the important rapids at Lachine.

Montreal's geography endures. Despite the radical changes that time and human settlement have wrought, the river and the hill—graciously known as The Mount—define the place, as they have throughout its history. And, in North American terms, it is a long history. The island was already inhabited when Cartier stopped ashore to receive "in good welcome as ever father gave to his son" from more than 1,000 dancing Iroquois, the residents of the triple-peaked settlement of Hochelaga.

But Montreal is old even by the standards of relatively ancient metropolitan France and beyond. It has been 350 years since Paul de Chomedey de Montmorency led a band of about

40 hardy colonists onto the island where, after baptizing the very rapids with a basin of gunpowder, and erecting a mass before a stake-altar lit by fireless impresses in a jar, they founded the outpost they chose to name, in honor of the Virgin Mary, Ville Marie.

Today Ville Marie reprints into Montreal over the course of the intervening thousand-and-half centuries, a time-span that saw the city play a leading role in the development of the North American continent and, much later, in the creation of the troubled country now called Canada. And for many people, there lies the special charm of Montreal. "It is a living, breathing museum," says Patrick Kennedy, president of the public corporation that spent more than \$40 million over the past century on spirited initiatives to commemorate the anniversary of de Montmorency's arrival in 1642. "I can think of few other cities," he continues, "capable of evoking on almost every street corner the sheer sense of our collective past."

Montreal does associate with historical associations, ranging from the daring exploits of the early explorers to the efforts, confronting odds, of the nation builders. But the city is also a modern, where entry, bar to all the benefits and joys to all the problems of late 20th-century society. "To really understand Montreal, you have to understand its contradictions," says author and historian Paul-Martin Leduc, who has been studying, teaching and writing about the city of his birth for the past two decades.

Those contradictions abound Montreal is one of the few major cities on the continent, certainly in Canada, that possesses something of an Old World flavor while, at the same time, remaining resolutely a part of the New World. It is both highly parochial—the cradle of Quebec nationalism—and vigorously cosmopolitan, home to an increasingly polyglot citizenry. Half of Quebec's nearly seven million people live within easy walking distance of either the river or the mountains, yet almost all of these cling tena-

Montreal skyline: 350 years later, the city reconnects with history

gance, the place is aggressively French, but stubbornly English. It possesses, as West-mounters, families with the highest incomes in the country, as well as, just round the shoulder of Mount Royal in the Park Extension neighborhood, those with the lowest.

Montreal is an elusive creature, difficult to grasp. But for those who want to make the effort, there is perhaps no better place to begin

than at the beginning with the river and Cartier's "most important rapids."

The young men and women who now captain the jetskis have christened it the Beauvieux. It is a solid wall of white water, constantly thrown up by a reef in the middle of the St. Lawrence, at the point where the broad river suddenly narrows. Rising out of the river, the permanent snow often reaches a height of 10 feet or more before it curls and crashes back down to disappear eventually into a glaucous Mack whirlpool, 25 feet across. The Beauvieux is one of the largest in a train of a dozen rapids moments that surge and roll for a quarter of a mile down the rapids. In river parlance, the

waves "wreck," as the St. Lawrence drops 15 feet in a 20-minute dash from Lachine to the old port of Montreal, at speeds of up to 20 miles per hour.

For those willing to endure a thorough dunking, it is possible to ride the white-water roller-coaster every year from the beginning of May until the middle of October. But people have been shooting the rapids for a long time, long before there was a Lachine, or even a Ville Marie. It was considered a rite of passage into manhood for local Algonquians. And Samuel de Champlain was the aspect of his short-lived heroics by performing the feat. By the late 19th century, the tradition was well-established, and a tug down the rapids in a two-handled

peddle-wheel steamer was considered to be the highlight of an excursion to Montreal.

Lachine's turbulent chute is much more than a simple tourist attraction. "There wouldn't even be a Montreal if those rapids weren't situated where they are," said Jack Kowalski, an enterprising American who started the company that now operates the jetskis. The early inhabitants of Ville Marie discovered that soon enough, jetboating their original rapids and to become, like the Hochelagans before them, hard-eyed dealers in the furs that had to be shipped across the island, around the barrier of the rapids. The construction in the first half of the 19th century of the Lachine Canal, to circumvent the rapids, gave birth to Canada's



only following the Second World War. And Polyak was part of it. "I loved it," he recalls. "The work was hard and the place was dirty and noisy, but it was exciting. It was a sad day when I finally had to leave."

For Polyak, it was under still when, only 13 months after he stepped down two years ago as head of the locomotive shop, Angus itself was shut down. "We had no choice," says former Angus manager Alfred Langlois, himself a 30-year veteran of the Montreal yard's workdays, as his footsteps echo in the deserted locomotive barn. He casts a forlorn eye over the structure's vast interior, a quarter-mile long and 75 feet high, before he adds:

"The company just doesn't need this place anymore. We can handle all the work now at our two main shops out west, where 75 per cent of our business is located." He pauses, then: "I guess it's just another sign of the times."

It is, indeed. When Angus shut down permanently in January, it was the latest in a distressingly long string of industrial closures to reshape operations in the city's once thriving east end. The Vickers shipyards, once a big employer, shut down in New Year's Eve, 1989. And four of the six oil refineries that dot the eastern tip of Montreal island currently sit idle. These closures, along with many others, have wrought havoc within the area's predominantly Franco-ethnic workforce. The expatriates, who once accounted for much more than 30 per cent of total employment at the east end, have already left in search of greener pastures. But the French-speakers, many of whom are unilingual, have nowhere else to go.

It is a development with unsettling implications. The fading Anglo population in many of Montreal's declining working-class districts is in the process of being reduced by a swelling wave of newcomers. And these new arrivals are not only jockeying for jobs and space with the existing francophones but they have also become the unwitting, sometimes reluctant, pawns in the ongoing struggle to shape the city's future. An always a Montreal, the war is a silent language. The battlehead, however, is silent.

The Ecole St. Pascal-Baylon is a French-language primary school in the Côte-des-Negres district of Montreal. The school sits on the corner of Rue Plamondon and Chénier de la Côte-des-Negres, beneath Mount Royal's northeastern terrace, squeezed between the

upper-class anglophone horizon of Westmount and the equally chic francophone enclave of Outremont on the other side of the mountain. There are 640 students attending classes at the school. And only one per cent of them lists either French or English as their mother tongue. "We have more than 40 nationalities here," claims principal Yves Blais, with more than a hint of pride in his voice. "They come from all over the place: South America, Central America, the Caribbean, Africa, the Middle East, India, Asia. It's a real United Nations."

St. Pascal-Baylon is one of Montreal's most

poor groceries, Vietnamese restaurants and Moroccan bakeries. The bakery in the shopping centre on the River Avenue may be one of the few places in the world where it is possible to glimpse a chador-clad Jewish woman engaged in good-natured bargaining with a Jewish salesgirl over the price of bagels.

Despite all of the political and economic problems that have recently descended on Montreal, the city continues to be a magnet for immigrants. Over 48,000 arrived last year alone, helping to balance a demographic trend



Shooting the Lachine Rapids: for local Anglospeakers, it was a rite of passage into adulthood

ethnically diverse schools, serving as a mix of the city that in recent years has quietly supplanted St. Lawrence Boulevard—the celebrated Mile—as a place where newcomers first find a home. Like the Mile of yesterday, Côte-des-Negres is home to an almost new generation of immigrants, a place where a casual visitor can overhear, within the space of a few blocks, street conversations in multilingual Spanish, Italian, Caribbean Creole, guttural Arabic, Farsi, Urdu, Hindi, Vietnamese, Russian, Ukrainian, Korean and dozens of other languages equally exotic to a Canadian ear. Yet, a Frenchman, a mixed-blooded couple, a Jew with Jewish gift shops, Muslim bakers, Pol-

ish would have otherwise seen the island's population drop. And it is the immigrants, known as allophones, who will likely decide the outcome of the current struggle between French and English in the metropolis where one of every two Quebecers live, by sheer force of their numbers.

Those clashes signal that Montreal's history is not over—that the living museum will continue to evolve at the foot of the rapids beside the great river, beneath the looming hill that Carter soiled once to build a millennium ago. In the swirl of the ages, the current political struggles are distractions from the power of the place. Too much history has been accumulated in the surrounding centuries for it to be faded quickly from memory. That, as the final analysis, is Montreal's strength—and a legacy that will endure.

BARRY CAHILL in Montreal

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A QUEBECOIS PERSPECTIVE

Viewing Quebec as a bilingual island in a unilingual sea called Canada

BY BENJAMIN ALBIN

Life in Quebec just isn't what it seems like here.

You know that Ron Hestral is a Canadian by the way that his whimsical, rosy-toned face that he had been traded to the Quebec Nordiques in June. A Yankee player would have taken the new posting like a man, just making sure that he would still be paid in real dollars.

But Hestral, a 28-year-old native of Brandon, Man., and the former goaltender for the Philadelphia Flyers, traded out. He must also be, in effect, when he learned the blow that he had dealt him and the other members of his family why?

The story of the Hestral's subsequent discovery that Quebec City is, after all a pleasant, vibrant—and bilingual—city, and that there was no reason for him to leave to Toronto, teaches us a great deal about the real nature of Canada's national constitutional issues.

As an ordinary, English-speaking Canadian, Hestral was convinced that Quebec City would be, in most respects, like any other mature Canadian city, but French instead of English for him, that meant hell.

Hestral's reaction was a wonderfully candid way of summing up what is wrong with Canada. Imagine what would await a young French-speaking insurance executive and her family if they moved from Quebec City to her company's head office in London, Ont., and you can understand how Hestral felt about moving to a newly capital.

After experiencing, I tried to live in French in London for a few days recently. It was a frustrating, little experience. The waitress in a downtown eatery thought she was being silly for laughing at me.

The trip on the street that was dealing with a smart-aleck who might need a lesson in proper respect for the law. The staff at city hall told me to write to Queen's Park for a tourist brochure written in French. The Bell Canada operator was unable to understand my request for the number of *Association Québécoise-Française de l'Ontario*, my call bounced first to Toronto, then to Ottawa.



Albin: most Quebecers remain deeply attached to Canada

Then, *The Globe and Mail* and the *Montreal Gazette* almost apologetically. In London, Ont., you have to search to find *Le Presseur* or *Paris Match*, and you cannot watch the TV network without a satellite dish. So the Hestral have told the local media that they are okay in Quebec City and thanks for the applause in Le Colisée.

Ha.

The point of their adventure is, of course, that Quebec has been given a political boost up through the country for being the only officially bilingual province in Canada. At street level, or at city hall, though, any Quebec small town is bilingual in practice. Meanwhile, the rest of Canada glories itself for being a tolerant and

bilingual society even though, in most areas, it remains staunchly unilingual and English.

Now, for a proper Quebec perspective on things political, let's apply the Hestral's experience to the current constitutional deal. Imagine 33 French-speaking first ministers, only three of whom speak some English. They have agreed on the best of deal they want, and now they are ready for the outside, the only English-speaking premier, who has asked their meetings so far.

The talks would take place in French, of course, because it would be taken for granted that the English premier is bilingual. You get the picture. Recent polls have shown that most Quebecers—even those in favor of separation—remain deeply attached to Canada, a country that, after all, they have helped create, develop and finance.

But it is also clear that many Quebecers cannot bring themselves to trust Canada with their most sacred and difficult endeavor: the creation of a bilingual, multicultural, modern, but predominantly French-speaking society in North America.

There are some people who speak English at home in Montreal, close to a million—there are people in St. John's, St. Louis, and other Canadian provinces. People here routinely buy *Le Devoir* and *The Gazette* on their way to work and, at night, by regularly between Radio-Canada and the English-language CBC channel. *Cité 58* can be seen in English, and *Jim Carrey* in French.

Quebec is, in many ways, the embodiment of the Canadian ideal, functioning rationally and effectively to do its job. That's why, for so many English-speaking Canadians, Quebec seems to be the black sheep, the one that is least attached to its constitutional package that would make sure it is nothing but a province remote in fact.

Albin: Albin is managing editor of *Le Devoir*



Drinkers at a Montreal tavern: a reputation for enjoying the high life—and an abiding affection for junk food

VIVE LA DIFFERENCE

Quebecers' view of themselves does not always match the reality

The scene from the television show is exciting. Hockey star Pierre Lacroix has just fallen into bed with a beautiful young woman. His hand moves up her calf and then over her thigh. He promises to take her everywhere he goes: "Toronto, Boston, Los Angeles." He kisses her stomach and passes up longingly over her naked torso—content, that is, in the French version of the scene. *Lower it, please*, in the English version, *He Sheds, He Sows*, the same giggling actress is clad in a solid-looking leotard. The premise: the reality is a vivid sign of the differences between viewers and consumers in Quebec and those in English Canada. "Quebecers are different in so many ways that it is hard to know where to start," says Francis Desmaré, director of the Montreal market research firm Impact Research. "It is cultural. It is consumption. It is political. It is a lifestyle."

The difference is also found in the purchase—sometimes peculiar—taste that Quebecers have for certain foods and beverages. They drink 45 per cent of the V-8 juice consumed in Canada, and do so, says Adam Seston, the brand manager for Campbell Soup Co. Ltd., because "the palate is different in Quebec. In Quebec, the number one reason to drink V-8 is taste, in Ontario, it's nutrition." Quebecers have an image of themselves as more favoring, across, more open-minded, modern and more European. And advertisers aim at it with self-impression. "Quebecers have a lot of love affairs," says pollster Marcel Lévesque. "When they eat, they take pleasure in it, when they buy something, they enjoy doing so. They are emotional and sensitive, and consuming is just another pleasure in life."

But that popular self-image does not always match the reality of Quebecers' consumption habits and lifestyles. Quebecers do have unique pleasures and preferences. But sometimes, as a series of advertising agencies that operate in the province shows, those differences are less exotic than Quebecers themselves believe.

FAST FOOD GOURMETS

Many Quebecers see themselves as epicures, delighting in food that is properly prepared and well-presented while buying fewer generic, or "no-name," brands. Quebecers consume more imported cheese and red meat than most other Canadians. And they buy more yogurt and less sour cream than English Canadians. Lévesque explains that the quest for status food and drink may be a way for Quebecers to assert their independence. "When you are willing through that shopping mall on a Saturday, it is the one time that you can be the boss," he says. "You can buy wherever you want—the best."

But marketing research shows that Quebecers' supermarket buying habits are, on the whole, a little less than gourmet. They buy more packaged cookies, instant coffee, snack food and instant meals than the Canadian average. And, while they may have a taste for imported cheese, they also eat more processed cheese slices than the Canadian average. There are also a few unexpected quirks: Que-

beers consume more than the national average of dried pasta and tomato paste. And the vast majority of the beer sold in Quebec is ale, while in the rest of the country, beer drinkers overwhelmingly prefer lagers.

Favorite comfort foods in Quebec are often such old-fashioned standards as pork "cerviers" or "rôtisseries," both cold spreads that are eaten at breakfast or lunch. The popularity of other dishes—such as *saucisson* (a thick, heavily spiced sausage)—highly high sales of dry grocery stores and canned goods, the dish's traditional accompaniment. And, while Quebecers downplay the importance of *pinot*—an artery-clogging mélange of french fries, card cheese and hot gravy—in their daily lives, the dish is on the menu of most fast-food restaurants. It is hard to find a Quebecer who has not loved *pinot* at least once—however guiltily. Like barbeque chicken before it, which originated in a fast food in Quebec and spread to the world, *pinot* is now available in English Canada too.

THE WILD LIFE OF QUEBEC PERVERSITIES

Polls show that Quebecers consider themselves to be outgoing bon vivants, but one poll conducted by *L'Express* magazine in January showed that they actually spend more time at home watching television than most English Canadians. And while many people still sit at home to watch American programs dubbed into French, new about 90 per cent of the most popular shows in Quebec are homegrown from Montreal. (Q) which began this fall, is just one of the phenomenal successes. Les Jolis de Gaieté. And shows such as *Laurie et compagnie*—prime-time soap operas, or *Mélanie*—are also known in Quebec—have always generated intense followings. Says Louise Gosselin, the TV critic for the French Language daily *Le Presse*: "The *Mélanie* is really one of the most popular literatures. It has been for decades." So strong is the attraction that Impact Research's latest polling while *Les Jolis de Gaieté* was on the air, a time when up to 40 per cent of adult Quebecers were glued to their sets and mangled of interruptions. "We really had to stop calling on that night of the week," said Descaze. "We would not have dared."

In fact, Quebecers watch more television than other Canadians—27 hours a week on average—and read fewer books. In the *L'Express* study, 37 per cent of Quebecers, compared to 15 per cent of the rest of Canada, said that they had not read a book in the last six months. And despite the higher cost of French books (a popular paperback can easily cost \$30, mostly because the *taxes* of the French language books is much smaller than that for those in English), only two per cent of respondents to a Quebec government survey said price was an obstacle to reading. Most explained

that they were not interested or did not have enough time to read.

There are other lifestyle oddities, as well. Quebecers give less to charity than other Canadians, and buy more lottery tickets—\$300 for every man, woman and child, according to Lot-Quebec statistics for the year ending March 31, 1990. They make only half as many long-distance telephone calls as other Canadians. Quebecers also smoke more than other Canadians, and buy more life insurance.

Once chided for filling their large cars with premium gasoline—even when it was not necessary—Quebecers are now among North America's largest consumers of imported, small and mid-range cars. But they retain a special affection for such exotic North American

which make you wonder what is going on here. I don't know how many magazines there are in English Canada, but we have about seven here just for our own Quebec celebrities."

Advertisers chafe at the assumption that Quebecers are more emotional, and less rational, than English-Canadians in their response to ads. Consumers are less likely to detect the advantages of a certain product than they are to react to images. And while humor helps sell in Quebec, so does a more explicit appeal to sexuality. Quebecers may, in fact, be more persuasive than other Canadians. A recent poll of attitudes showed that 46 per cent of Quebec respondents found it acceptable for 15-year-olds to have sex, compared to only 30 per cent in the rest of Canada.

And Quebecers claim to be more tolerant of extramarital affairs, while 79 per cent of them said that extramarital affairs were a grave concern, that concern in the rest of Canada was 10 points higher, 89 per cent.

Television producers and advertisers agonize closely take their cues from such attitudes. They respond on TV with more revealing prime-time shows, such as the breed tested in *L'Amour de couple*. "You should see all the new *Mélanie* there are here because everywhere," says Descaze. "It is almost as if

they are showing them to not the love, or create a certain atmosphere." This has extended to commercial advertising as well. A recent *Parade*, not all, for one, featuring uncolored condoms, ran in only one Canadian province: Quebec. And a very large ad for Dan protyphon, which was pulled down from bus shelters in Toronto because of complaints that it was revealing to women, was barely noticeable in Montreal. "It is not so much as one ever complains in Montreal," says Descaze. "But we might get one complaint for every 10 in Toronto. I do not even remember what the item women looked like, it went so invisible."

Whatever the contradictions between Quebecers' self-image and their actual behavior, the important fact remains that Quebecers believe that they are different from other Canadians. They characterize themselves as more Latin in temperament and liberal in attitude. But even Quebecers have difficulty explaining all aspects of their character. Says Descaze: "Sometimes, I think Quebec society is a little like an add-on—it wants to please, it wants to rebel, it says 'yes' one day, 'no' the next." Perhaps, the young marketing executive added: "We want to be different just for the sake of being different." Then, with a sigh born of someone whose income depends on trying to resolve these contradictions, he added: "I am a Quebecer—and I have trouble."

NANCY BOOD in Montreal

Chao District, Tokyo.



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THE YOUNG AND THE AMBITIOUS

A new generation talks jobs, not politics



It is a pit on a chilly Tuesday at The Sheraton, a popular bar on a trendy stretch of St-Laurent Boulevard in the heart of Montreal. Young men and women crowd around wooden tables while cigarette smoke drifts through the air and hip-hop music thumps from speakers suspended from the ceiling. The array of styles and conversations is striking: artists wearing berberies over their heads and near young businessmen in dark suits and impeccably dressed women. Sipping beer and eating hamburgers and fries with mayonnaise or ketchup, the patrons discuss hockey, clothing trends and the lagging recession. "People here do talk about some serious things," says Sylvia Martinez, the club's 32-year-old owner. "But they also talk about that cute guy who just walked by their table—or that cute girl. Politics, on the other hand, is not a given conversation topic." Only a generation ago, Montreal's bars and clubs were the nightly settings for passionate debates about Quebec nationalism and political reform that tears have changed.

Now, young Quebec professionals tend to be tight-lipped about politics—and are more concerned than their predecessors about the econ-

omy and their own jobs. In that sense, they resemble their counterparts in English Canada: many are disinterested in the political process and concerned that it has little relevance to their own lives. Moreover, the nationalist sentiments that once drove and fueled a previous generation of young Quebecers are now conspicuously accepted throughout the province, in a sense, the battle has been won and even most federalists now admit to Quebec's need for greater powers. **More:** In that and many respects, the gap between young people in Quebec and other parts of the country is still wide. One of the most obvious changes within Quebec over the past two decades is in language skills. In the past, it was safe to assume that an ambitious, well-educated young Quebec francophone would know how to speak and read English fluently. Although bilingualism is still considered an asset because it implies career mobility, it is now entirely possible to live and work successfully in the province without uttering a

word of English. Laws enacted by Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberals in 1974 and the Parti Québécois in 1977 have strengthened the role of the French language in the school system, in stores and in the workplace. In particular, Quebec's Bill 100 has made it extremely difficult for French Quebecers to attend English schools, in the French public school system, English as a second language is not taught until the sixth grade. And while French-conversion schools abound in the rest of Canada, there are no English-immersion programs for francophones in Quebec.

Still, the English language remains in vogue for educated Montrealers. Many of the city's young professionals attended private schools that offer intensive English-language training, or grew up in neighborhoods with strong English contingents. While young francophones enjoy French-language movies and modern Quebec musicians—such as Richard Dapardim or Luc de Laroschelle—they are just as likely to buy compact discs by the Irish supergroup U2 or to savor an evening of the English version of the newest Hollywood box-office smash *Soyez Claude Dupas*, a 29-year-old executive at the Advertiser's Lounge, an industry-outletting organization. "Dubbed versions are always inferior, and you lose a lot of the film's context. When something is translated, you don't get the real thing."

The ability to speak English represents a conversation is also considered worldly and chic. Francophones Montrealers—even those uncomfortable speaking English—are likely to describe a compound co-worker as "cool" or to say that a difficult situation will have to be "toughed out." Popular restaurants are "in" places to meet others than out, people stay at home in the evenings, "cooosing" with their families.

Still, many young Quebecers lack confidence in their command of English. Explains Dupas, "It is a question of shyness and of opportunity. For someone who works in French, they don't have many opportunities to practice their English. As well, politicians send out messages about the importance of speaking French, so fewer francophones are pushed to learn another language."

Another change in the past decade is a decline in the city's tradition of long, rambling lunches. With unemployment in the Montreal area at 12.6 per cent and most employers looking for ways to cut back, few young people are willing to gamble that a two-hour lunch will go unnoticed by the boss. Says Anne Marie

Martinez (left), Dupas: a decline in the city's tradition of long, leisurely lunches

Trafalgar Square, London.



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Dubois, 28, executive director of Montreal's Junior Chamber of Commerce. "These days, people are hard and living their beach days. The message is clear: if you are not interested in working, plenty of others are. People eat quickly, getting in a restaurant at 11:45 a.m. so that service will be faster."

Critics: While young Montrealsers have adopted a rhythm of working life that more closely resembles Toronto than Paris, they remain very different from English-Canadians. For one thing, the wave of "political correctness" that has swept American and English-Canadian society campuses—resulting, in some cases, in revisions to history courses to better reflect the experiences of women, aboriginals and visible minorities—has barely reached French-Quebec. Indeed, there is open suspicion between many Quebecers and aboriginal groups—who have lobbied hard against hydroelectric development on their tribal lands—which was particularly evident during the 1990 Oka crisis. A more extreme example of indifference towards minority sensitivities was last April's publication by a French-language news outlet of a cover story with the headline "Whites have had enough of blacks." Critics roundly condemned the paper for promoting racial hostility, but even many mainstream publications routinely draw attention to an individual's race in stories dealing with crime.

According to some experts, young Quebecers are more glibly English-Canadian than they believe that if the government's responsibility to resolve problems such as pollution and poverty. Before the Quiet Revolution in the early 1960s, says Sébastien Gendron, a politician with Montreal's Centre de recherche sur l'économie publique, Quebecers relied on the Roman Catholic Church to set social standards. As the role of the church diminished, political leaders and intellectuals filled the gap, followed by a new generation of successful entrepreneurs in the 1980s. The result, Gendron says, is that Quebecers tend to look to others for moral guidance and leadership. "The English-Canadian and American and community activists do not really care here," he adds. While Quebecers will gladly fill a recycling bin with glass and old newspapers, they are more likely to wait passively for local governments to implement such programs. By contrast, says Gendron, English-Canadians "will actively lobby for things like recycling in the communities."

Still, some Montrealsers say that prices in

changing. Robert Vézina, 28, for one, is both an account executive with a public relations firm and the volunteer president of the Junior Association of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. He helps organize charity events such as a Christmas ball for young Montrealsers, raising \$40,000 last year for the Montreal Gazette's Christmas Fund for poor families. Says Vézina: "I was a teenager in the francophone community. People travel more, see the way things

But what most distinguishes young Montrealsers from their counterparts in English Canada is the legacy of Quebec nationalism that runs on their reluctant shoulders. The modern generation would clearly prefer to deal with its own problems rather than try to solve those of an entire society. Says Dupuis: "Young people live in a different context than those who were active in the 1960s. We do not have the job security that they had and still have—many of

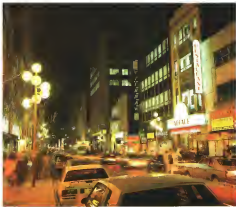


PHOTO BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

are done elsewhere, and they are getting more involved here."

There are also differences of personal style. Young Montrealsers tend to see themselves as far more sophisticated and urban than their counterparts elsewhere in the country. Vézina, for one, says that he is baffled that so many young English-Canadian women wear nylon to the office in the summer. "In Montreal, women show their legs—and their arse," he says. Indeed, young women in Montreal are likely to go barelegged to any business or social occasion where the weather permits. And rarely do career women wear jogging shoes to work. Montreal is a city of shoe stores and shoe lovers. And Vézina, "I go to Toronto a lot and I would say that Montrealsers are more European. You see fewer baseball caps here and more women are much better dressed. I know it sounds like a cliché, but it's true."

Downside: Montreal is as easy possible to live and work without uttering a word of English.

them as instruments. When you have to look for a job every two months, it affects the amount of time you have to devote to politics."

Vézina, meanwhile, recalls the last time anyone brought up the subject of the Constitution at a party. "There was a very awkward conversation going on and one guy finally said—just to break things up—'How about that constitutional debate, you guys?'" He adds: "People are informed but they do not get into big discussions. In the '60s, we work hard and worry about our job. When we have time to break it in the pleasure, not for politics." But while constitutional discussions between French- and English-speaking workers remain rare, the Oct. 26 referendum will force many young Montrealsers to face an issue that they have so far preferred to avoid.

NANCY WOOD in Montreal

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THE STARS OF CULTURE

Quebec artists are less political—and more popular

Through their music, literature and film, Quebecers have given voice to their distinct identity. Now, more than ever, the province's artists are also looking outward. Maclean's looks at developments in the fields of popular music, film and the literary arts

Homegrown music has traditionally been a source of pride and patriotism for Quebecers. Folk singers like Félix Leclerc, who died in 1988, were inspirational during the 1960s Quiet Revolution. Then, during the nationalist 1970s, singer-lies Gilles Vigneault's *Mon pays* (My country) became synonymous with the political aspirations of Quebec society. Now, in the 1990s, while Quebec's music community remains in many ways close-knit and insular, in other respects it has become more outward-looking. Last year, some critics scorned singer Celine Dion for releasing an English-language album, but the buzz over efforts to win adjectives outside of Quebec appears to have faded. Says Laurent Séguin, the music critic for *Prix*, a Montreal cultural tabloid: "There is no longer that bad feeling about musicians who make English albums. Most people are just very proud of Celine."

Even leather-jacketed superstar Robi Vézina plans to release an English album soon. The veteran Mousse Hétu, who performs under her real name, has collaborated with the anglophone Montreal band Man Without Hats. But Quebec still has many popular musicians who create and perform solely in French. Besides by career artists such as the evergreen yodeler Jean Leloup, with his trademark striped shirt and top hat, singer-guitarist Luc de Laubachon and balladeer Richard Séguin regularly sell over 200,000 copies—an average, Quebec albums sell 20,000 each.



Dion: despite the scorn, the fury over efforts to win adjectives outside of Quebec has faded

In Quebec, music comes in many styles. In spite of their age, the three members of Les B.B., all in their early 40s, are constantly referred to in the francophone New Kids on the Block. Gypsy young female singers like Julie Masse and the blond, broadshouldered vocalist simply known as Kathleen are the newest addition to a female rock tradition that includes veterans such as Myrta and singer-songwriters Marie-Claire Seguin and Louise

Perron. Serious new arrivals include Laurence Jalbert, whose first album sold over 150,000 copies. And acclaimed musician Michel Rivard and Richard Séguin remain popular after years of recording and performing.

Some traditions, though, appear to be fading. Acoustic polytechnique by Quebec musicians to France were once the norm. Séguin still makes the journey—Bogdan, for one, is spending the fall in Paris, where he has been well-received. But French fans remain a little confused over many Quebec musicians, who are difficult to categorize because they mix both ballads and driving rock. Occasionally, a singer like Rivard will draw huge Parisian audiences. Still, many Quebec performers no longer used contractual agents to find successful *Star* outlets: "More and more now, people are beginning to realize that you do not need to go to Paris to be successful."

As well, few Quebec singers and musicians are properly nationalistic in their counterparts of the 1960s and 1970s. Many have avoided publicly taking sides in the referendum campaign. But at least one, Dan Bigras—whose heart-wrenching songs are increasingly popular—is campaigning for the No side. He represents a link to a past when Quebec music was not merely popular—but political.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa

Canada's movie industry contains two distinct film-making cultures—and the nominations for the 1992 Genie Awards, announced last week, make it clear which is the more successful. Of the movies selected for best picture, only one, director David Cronenberg's *Naked Lunch*, comes from English Canada. The others are all French-language films from Quebec—*Léolo*, *Berg et moi* with Claude Lévesque for a *Good Looking* standard and *The Sacrifice*.

With isolated exceptions, notably Cronenberg's work, English-Canadian cinema has failed to achieve major international success or commercial success. English-Canadian movies even have trouble finding an audience within Canada, while Quebec movies is like a popular literature, with a strong voice and a loyal audience. For years, Quebec's top film-makers have shown that they can compete with Hollywood products in their own province.

In the process, they have also learned to compete successfully abroad. In the 1970s, such directors as Claude Jutra, Gilles Carle and Jean-Pierre Leduc established Quebec's reputation as a genuine film-making culture. More recently, Denis Arcand won because the best of the Cannes Film Festival, first with his provocative 1986 sex comedy, *Les Invisibles*, and then with his 1989 tragicomic gem, *Je me souviens*.

And if Arcand has become the dean of Quebec cinema, director Jean-Claude Lauzon is its rising favorite. Lauzon first won acclaim in 1987 with *Night Zoo*, a stylish thriller, set in a small town, that also drew attention to the death of the main character's brother. And in recent months, *Léolo*, an autobiographical portrait of the artist as a young doctor, has been widely

Canadian MIL MILAN 04-00-20	Canadian TPE TAIPEI 00-19-73	Canadian MUC MUNICH 00-05-15	Canadian ROM ROME 35-64-49	Canadian MAN MANCHESTER 01-81-03
Canadian GO NAGOYA 05-50-65	Canadian AKL AUCKLAND 22-65-04	Canadian TYO TOKYO 98 75 04	Canadian LGW LONDON 28-45-03	Canadian FRA FRAUENFURT 08-60-03
Canadian BLR BIRMINGHAM 06-45-18	Canadian CDG PARIS 03-55-04	Canadian RIO RIO DE JANEIRO 08-00-00	Canadian SYD SYDNEY 27-30-05	Canadian SCL SANTIAGO 23-95-47
Canadian MEX MEXICO CITY 00-50-04	Canadian HKG HONG KONG 56-50-04	Canadian SAO SAO PAULO 05-95-05	Canadian BKK BANGKOK 30-65-04	Canadian HNL HONOLULU 34-95-04

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Around Tremblay (below), today's artists are competing successfully abroad

led by European and American critics

But Leblond's cultural milestones has touched a nerve among Quebec nationalists. Its subsequent tour, arriving up in Winnipeg-lands East End Montreal, fiercely denies his French-Canadian heritage—and counts that he is mostly Italian. Leblond's ability to make regional films, play with his cultural heritage, and still make sense to critics far removed from Quebec and Canada is impressive. But it is an ability that has largely eluded English Canada.

Misreading is an industrial art that relies (consciously or unconsciously) on co-production far beyond Quebec and the rest of Canada have done little to share their talents and resources. In fact, when Arcand offered to make his first English-language feature in Edmonton, the Alberta Motion Picture Development Corp. turned down the producer's request for \$500,000 in extra funding required to make it possible. The story was set in Edmonton and based on Chevalier's *His Wife Remains* and *The True Nature of Love*, a hit play by local writer Brad Fraser. "Edmonton is usually striking," Arcand told Maclean's, "and I've never seen it in films. I would have liked to have been the first to capture it." Arcand has moved the location to Montreal—and Alberta has missed up its opportunity to have one of Canada's best directors use its capital as a setting for a film that will likely be shown around the world. In art, as in politics, Quebec and the rest of Canada do not see eye to eye.

DELAN D. JOHNSON

While Quebec's politicians debate the province's future, its writers are looking outward. A new generation of authors has emerged, clearly preoccupied with style and little interested in the nationalist themes that once fired Quebec

literature. The current literary star is 33-year-old Louis Theriault, whose tough fiction range reflects the more gritty edge of his prose. His third novel, published in September, is a murder mystery set in an Indian village in northern Quebec, and like his previous two works it will likely soon be published in France. "Contemporary Québécois literature is extremely exportable," says Montreal *Gazette* literary columnist Jean Boas. "There are a lot of co-productions



with French publishers, and the young writers aren't as interested in defining the territory of Quebec as they once were."

Robert Lalonde, Claire D'Am and Anne Desjardins are other new writers to crack the French market. One reason for their overseas success: they avoid Québécois slang, which makes their work more accessible to the European reader. On the lighter side, an upscale comic book, set in New York City and featuring a Rambo-style character called Red Knight, is being brought out simultaneously in Quebec and France this fall by Dargaud, the European distributor of the phenomenally successful *As-tu vu* series.

Meanwhile at Montreal's venerable Théâtre du Nouveau Monde, newly appointed artistic director Lucienne Poirier has brought in a younger generation of directors to put a fresh, contemporary face on classics, while also presenting modern plays. And renowned playwright Michel Tremblay's work continues to be popular. In 1989 play *The Good Sisters* was performed in French, Yiddish and Scottish Gaelic during the last theatre season.

In Montreal, English-language literature is also thriving. In September, 500 people lined up outside a local Macmillan bookstore. The occasion: readings by five anglophone writers from their work. The English-language literary community is strong enough to sponsor annual prizes in poetry, non-fiction and fiction totaling \$6,000. English-language theatre is also experiencing a renaissance, with more than 20 companies—compared to about four 10 years ago—now vying with the 24-year-old GaitHER Theatre for audiences and funding.

Anglophone writing and theatre are also attracting bilingual audiences. Margaret Atwood has cracked the Quebec best-seller lists. Works by Maria Galassi and Robertson Davies are also readily available in French. In September, Montreal's *Le Devoir* published a review of the controversial *On Canada*. Oh Quebec appeared in a French translation published by Les Éditions Talon. Declared editor André Boissard, who said that he expects sales to be high. "It's a much more measured, respectful than most critics have been critical for. The book deserves to be read."

On the stage, highly acclaimed French-language productions of two plays by Toronto-based Judith Thompson have been mounted in recent years. Undisputed *Human Relations* and *The True Nature of Love*, by Edmonton's Brad Fraser, was a huge success in French. Fraser's new play, *The Ugly Man*, will open, also in French, at the Théâtre du Grand Théâtre next spring—part of Quebec's changing literary arts scene. Whether in English, French or another language, Quebec's literary arts scene reflects the vitality of its politics.

MARILYNNE SKERMAN in Montreal

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THE NEW QUEBEC

The citizens of *Rivière-du-Loup* are living proof of a distinct society

On the surface, it could be Anytown, Anywhere, North America. Newly rented motels, fast-food outlets and well-serviced gas stations point to a place that has an anything-goes feeling to it. But in *Rivière-du-Loup* in the hinterland of eastern Quebec, on the other side of town, by the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, has a Disneyland-like amusement park, complete with a separate fairy-tale castle. Towards the city's sprawling mall include chain stores with names like West Coast, Hobbaco and Sam Francisco, and among the best-sellers in a local bookstore are French translations of popular American authors Danielle Steel and Robert Lulliam. Most used by the local art collection includes the same fare: local from Mount to Mount, just—Globe & Ross, Bryan Adams and other sorts of pop. And playing on recent work at the downtown Theatre Franco was the French-language version of the Hollywood comedy, *Money, I Shot Up the Kid*.

A traveller searching for a stereotypical rural Quebec of tiny farms, towering forests and winding charbon has come to this bordering city of 14,000 people decades too late. *Rivière-du-Loup* has shed its rustic traditions and embraced continental trends. But neither reality nor lies lie in this outlying community. 300 km northwest of Quebec City, in a dense area of cities and towns such as Rouyn, in the north-west part of the province to Sherbrooke in the south, *Rivière-du-Loup* has become a proud—even eager—partner in the culture and aspirations of the largely urban New Quebec. The global trends in mass communications, particularly the impact of television and advertising, has not bypassed the small towns of Quebec. But the role models and heroes—in sports as in politics, business and music—remain, for the most part, distinctly born-and-bred Quebecers.

Trends in *Rivière-du-Loup*, many of the current television shows are made in Quebec. French-language productions like *Les Filles du Calé*, about the romance between a young, born-of-the-century rural Quebec schoolteacher and one of her students. Despite the presence of Ladino and Italian immigrants, the local business employees, Anne Bédard notes that "Quebecers and French authors always make up more of the list." Bédard, who says that she will vote No in the Oct. 28 referendum, adds: "And people here have never even heard of Margaret Atwood."

The Oct. 28 referendum for popular music. 11 of the 38 best-sellers in last department store's music section are by contemporary Quebec

recording artists. According to Guy Bouchard, director of the Musée du Film St. Laurent, a modern *Rivière-du-Loup* art gallery, which last month opened two exhibitions of work by seven Quebec graphic artists, the blending of French, American and English-Canadian influences has given Quebec, "an artistic stream unique with relevance, not only to the rest of Canada, but to



the rest of the world."

Politically, *Rivière-du-Loup* has reflected Quebec's prevailing political trends. In 1970, the town's voters helped propel the Parti Québécois to power. But in 1990, they voted No to sovereignty-association—as did the majority of Quebecers—and cast their ballots for Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberals in the 1995 and 2003 provincial elections. *Rivière-du-Loup* is a thriving, globalized, cosmopolitan community of native French-speaking Quebecers who are proud of their linguistic and cultural uniqueness. In their view, this

pride is the strongest claim to their oft-stated claim that Quebec is a "distinct" from the rest of Canada.

Here, only 60 km from the New Brunswick border, English-speaking Canada is a largely unknown country. There is only a handful of bilingual anglophones, along with a scattering of Asian and Latin American immigrants. Says 18-year-old Stéphane Turcotte, a high-achieving student at the massive 1,500-student *Rivière-du-Loup* community college who has in the past travelled to Alberta and Ontario: "If you asked in Montreal you might get a different answer, but we don't really have much about English Canada here. To many people it seems like a foreign country—and to most it seems a long way away."

Indeed, some of that separation is maintained by the divide that the people of *Rivière-du-Loup* add that their distinctness also comes from their history: indeed, the rich cultural heritage, including strong English influences, runs as deep as the river that flows by *Rivière-du-Loup*'s foot door. Post-and-a-half-century ago, French anglophone Jacques Carrière dropped mobile oil tanks near *Rivière-du-Loup* to take on fresh drinking water. Samuel de Champlain, the founder of New France who followed about 70 years later, did the same.

Settled permanently 300 years ago, *Rivière-du-Loup* was a fishing and fur-trading outpost under the French as well as the community's development. The community underwent a considerable change after the British conquest of New France in 1763, events that became a virtual fission of British businessmen Alexander Fraser, a fur trader for the North West Co. "Our history is all around us," says Mayor Denise Lévesque, the multi-generational descendant of French settlers who arrived in the area in 1676. Interviewed in her spacious town-hall office, she said: "It is one of the things that makes an difference, makes us



Rivière-du-Loup, foreground, and the St. Lawrence River, showing rustic traditions to embrace continental trends

distinct. Our roots are very deep here."

Those roots include an Anglican church built and donated by the Fraser family in 1841—now closed. Other 19th-century architectural treasures from *Rivière-du-Loup*'s British era surrounding the city, including downtown streets include a municipal library, the court building and the local Bank of Montreal branch. Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister, made his summer home here for the last 25 years of his life. And, for 60 years, the city's name was "Fraserville"—it's first name, in 1858, was not "St. Jean." In the 19th and early 20th centuries, anglophones made up more than 40 per cent of the town's population.

One of the handful of remaining anglophones is a 73-year-old Charles Stewart, whose family history, like Mayor Lévesque's, illustrates a wealth of the community's past—and its adaptability to the New Quebec. Stewart's father, who came from New Brunswick and eventually became a railway employee—met Stewart's Boston-born mother at *Rivière-du-Loup*. Stewart remembers growing up as a community where English was commonly spoken. But now, the retired Quebec civil servant speaks French at home with his francophone wife, Roxane, and English less frequently. "I can speak English with my son on Saturdays and Sundays when we go together for coffee," he says. "But if there's a French-speaking person with us, we switch to French."

Stewart's six children all have English first names, but all have French as their first lan-

guage and all live in Quebec. "There are fewer and fewer of us now," says Stewart of *Rivière-du-Loup*'s anglophones. His tries to stay in touch with his English roots through English-language television, some of it transmitted by cable from the United States, and by reading English newspapers and magazines. For all that, he acknowledges, "I feel a bit cut off."

Challenge: On the other side of the linguistic coin, many *Rivière-du-Loup* francophones say that they have much to learn about their experiences with English-speaking Canadians. Of his travels to Western Canada, Mayor Lévesque remembers British Columbia as "a totally different world, like going to China." And Sylvain Desmet, a 32-year-old college administrator, says that he has encountered "some cultural attitudes" as the part of English-Canadian during travels to Ontario and Prince Edward Island. "We like going to the United States more," he says. "There, we're exotic and our difference is accepted. English Canada is a different country, certainly as reality it is not as such."

But Desmet, who says that he is undecided about how he will vote on Oct. 28, adds that his view does not imply inequality. "Sure, we are proud to be Quebecers, proud to be francophones," he says. "But we know we have to open ourselves up to outsiders." *Rivière-du-Loup* is done just that. Long regarded as simply a stop on the highway between Quebec and New Brunswick, the city's mix of graceful old buildings, museums and amusement parks

is attracting American and European tourists as its own. "We're even getting a few Japanese now," says Jean Pélissier, an assistant manager of the Auberge de la Pointe, a local hotel.

And, as more of the world comes directly to *Rivière-du-Loup*, the change in local attitudes accelerates. Entrepreneur Bernard Boudrias, president of a thriving local company that makes prefabricated homes for sale across Quebec and New Brunswick, says that business in the town is very Quebec as in the rest of the world. "There is very little room for sentiment in business," adds Boudrias. "Service and product quality are more important. They are what count, in and out of Quebec."

Such an impressionist outlook says Albert Cook, the Liberal member of the Quebec legislature for the area, will ensure the future of a community that has grown by over one-quarter in size in the past 35 years. "But, there's a lot of history in the area," he says. "That is also a dynamic modern community, that has weathered the recession better than many places." But the constant influx of modern, outside influences—whether commercial or cultural—at the same time, a challenge to the distinctiveness of small towns everywhere. The challenge the residents of *Rivière-du-Loup* face is whether their special identity will survive or whether, like their own anglophone community, it slowly fades away.

GLEN ALLEN in *Rivière-du-Loup*



MICHAEL FANNIN

REFERENDUM FILE

KEEPERS OF THE FLAME

Sports in Quebec is an affair of the heart that borders on the spiritual

BY MICHAEL FANNIN

At Bama, the new coach of the Toronto Maple Leafs, says Carlton Scates seems like Ray Stortz right now. He wanders around Maple Leaf Gardens, is asked the ceremonial question in one language, and tries to answer his team towards a spot in the Stanley Cup playoffs (which is hard to focus, but the Leafs usually do anyway). "I was where Jacques [Desrosiers, the now Montreal Canadiens coach] said he'd like to be there 10 years," said Bama, who just finished four years coaching in the Forum. "I wish him luck. Jacques might make it if he wins the Stanley Cup every year. But even if he does, they'll find something wrong. 'See, he's wearing Cape, but it's not Jax.' There'll be something."

There always is. Desrosiers probably has the toughest job a Canadian could have that does not involve more shifts or keeping the peace at Surgenie. He is not just the Canadiens coach, a province with six million coaches-without-licenses. But he is, child-like, the keeper of the flame.

For any Canadian coach, it always is hot or cold.

You have heard it before—in Montreal, the Forum is a temple, and in Quebec City, the Nordiques are a religion. Understandably, the phrases are so hot, so lovingly repeated, that they tend to obscure rather than illuminate their significance. Hockey is not holy. No Canadian coach has ever had as much of a messianic connection with their followers, the same kind of warm, intense feeling that religion establishes with believers.

The head smashes of the spiritual, not 60 minutes of dump-and-chase hockey. It was truly made God in his own image, then the Canadiens have made a nation of the society they represent. "If you grow up in the province, you took pride in The Rocket, Béliveau, Plante, Goffard," said Ken Dryden, the first-ever Montreal Canadiens goaltender. "The fans are themselves in those players. That rejection was actually something better than people saw in themselves."

That personal connection makes sport in

Quebec—there is that word again—distinct. Not that the province has cornered the market on passion. The Toronto Blue Jays attracted eight million fans over the past two seasons, and one part the spirit and fan also is emerging generation of genuine Blue Jays devotees. There is roller pride in Saskatchewan, and Edmonton embraces its Edmonies for their relative sense of continuity in a testosterone Canadian football league. But what sets Quebec apart is that the feeling for a team goes beyond the seasonal how-the-boys-doing? There is an intensity in the relationship between the team and its environs.

Take the Montreal Machine of the World League of American Football. The Machine was truly marvellous. If they played a touch football game in your backyard, you probably would draw the drapes. But it made sense that the Machine would be more appealing to Montrealers than the Alouettes, who died virtually unremembered before the 1987 CFL season, a team that had lost touch even more than it had games. The art, long had been popular in a province more comfortable taking its cues

from New York City than Toronto. And the popular current that holds that Montreal is a world city made it fitting that the Machine should be golden-tipped, with Béliveau and President named of Montreal and Rogers. The Machine reached primarily a blue-collar francophone crowd, one that arrived with football tradition but with a riotous enthusiasm.

Roger Bédard, the Machine president, knew which doors to push. He hired Jacques Desrosiers as head coach, a former Alouettes assistant with vast credentials to run a professional team. When a crowd of 50,000 booted O Canada at the home opener, Bédard decided to drop the anthem—move with a message.

"You must give Canadians what they need," Bédard said. "What we give them was the possibility to be represented at the highest levels, of real world players, then with the president and coaches. In the past, few French-Canadian coaches reached the top levels in their own fields. Many still believe they don't have that chance, whether it's true or not. They saw it as a chance, and they supported us. That's why hockey is so popular. French-Canadians have made it for the top."

The matrix of language and culture are inseparable over every aspect of Quebec life, colorings judgments and opinions. But nowhere is it as evident as with hockey. Somewhere it is recognized, like the relationship between a Montreal Bear and the French media Bears, a Montrealer whose mother is a francophone, was pushed almost to paranoia by the occasional attacks over how he used some of the Canadiens' French-speaking players, criticism with its screaming nature of implied racism.

But in the larger picture, the heightened awareness of language and culture made the Canadiens truly what they are. It's not just a team. They are only referred to their soundbites, they spring from their, however, in Montreal. Radio's delicious phrase, "a spiritual necessity." Many players were from around the corner, or three towns away. You know their cousins, or shared the same newspaper delivery boy, or competed against them yourself growing up. Surely anyone was more than a person content from knowing somebody who was with the Canadiens, whether it was the Richard brothers or Doug Harvey and Duke Belner.

But the Canadiens' link to the city and province has been forged especially through a almost unbroken lineage of francophone stars, an extraordinary heritage that connects Maurice Richard to Jean Béliveau to Guy Lafleur to Michel Bergeron, and now Patrick Roy and Denis Savard. "The essence of the sport is in the openness you find with a team," Dryden said. "What makes it feel like my team?"

It's in my city and carried my name and is playing in my stadium and represents my language. The more my you can throw in, the better. I'm a plaque reader and when I sat in the dressing room, I'd study all the names on the wall. One of the least successful players was the first 1940s when the Canadiens were in the direction of English players. Having French-Canadians as the biggest stars gave the team its identity.

The Nordiques, says Dryden, still have that overall, francophone superstar. "If the Nord-



Farber as the Forum: an intensity between the team and its location

iques was the Stanley Cup, the star would be Joe Sakic or Valeri Kozlovsky," he said. "Something comes slightly."

The Nordiques have been making the playoffs, too, but by more than slightly. They finished last in the NHL in three of past five years. Still, they have sold 95.6 per cent of the seats at the Colisée, almost five percentage points above the league average during those seasons of doubt. And when they signed Lafleur and retired Quebecer Michel Bergeron as coach for 1992-1993, the Nordiques reached 98 per cent of capacity with a team that managed a paltry 31 points.

"This is our family affair," said Marcel Aubut, the Nordiques' general manager. "This is a small town, and people take it so personally. The day after a playoff defeat or anyone there's a loss to Montreal, it's raining even if it's sunny, you know? Every day we get seven, eight pages in the newspapers. But you must give everything in life to this town. You have to justify every step. There's no

privacy. This is the price of success."

The Montreal Expos redacted the formula for success, such as the early 1980s made them the hottest ticket in town. Back then, they offered the equivalent of free wages baseball with the "black tops" of Tim Lincecum, Ron LaFleur, Rodney Scott and Andre Dawson, and the charm of Gary Carter, who animated himself into a totem with his boisterous, his smile, and through smarts and respect to learn how to say "Bougie" and "Men avec."

Then came, after years of the rain, the Expos redacted the formula that had lost him. Claude Brochu, who headed a consortium that bought the team from Charles Bronfman and his partners in 1988, brought the Expos closer to their fans. The Expos registered as having Carter as a reminder of the good times, learned the province with a renewed vigor, and introduced new uniforms. The road uniforms included the word "Montreal" with a fleur-de-lis serving as an accent against the "e." For Aubut's organization, an Expos official explained that the fleur-de-lis was a place-name symbol, like the California golden bear. But an message was not lost back home. This was not just a geographical marker, but Quebec's symbol, with all the psychological baggage that carries.

But the team did not truly turn around until hiring Felipe Alou as manager on May 23. He struck a chord in a city where Latin players like Francisco Perez, Dennis Martinez and Jose Cardenal all have been extremely popular. (He also some American players, the Expos never lacked on Montreal as being the Beast of the Big League.) The next day, the front-page headline in the Montreal French-language daily Le Presse said that the Expos had hired a manager from Leval Allou, who is from the Dominican Republic, is married to a woman from the Montreal area.

"Montreal is a unique market, more emotional and passionate than anywhere else I've seen," said David Donikowsky, the former Expos general manager, now with the expansion Florida Marlins. "People look things to heart, took it personally even. I remember '89 coming back from the airport after we'd won night of 110 on a road trip. The cab driver said, 'Here you are, Mr. Donikowsky!' I said, 'Great! He said, 'But you lost that game a couple of days ago.' They even the best times in sport, took it personally even. I remember '89 coming back from the airport after we'd won night of 110 on a road trip. The cab driver said, 'Here you are, Mr. Donikowsky!' I said, 'Great! He said, 'But you lost that game a couple of days ago.' They even the best times in sport, took it personally even. I remember '89 coming back from the airport after we'd won night of 110 on a road trip. The cab driver said, 'Here you are, Mr. Donikowsky!' I said, 'Great! 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MR. CREDIBILITY

Bernard Derome rules Quebec television news

All day, the veteran anchorman coughed and sniffled with a nasty cold as he prepared his script and helped to select stories for the evening newscast. But four minutes before airtime, Bernard Derome put away the cough drops and tissues and strode confidently across a carpeted floor from his plush, uncarpeted desk to the curtained set of Quebec's most popular TV news program, *Soirée Info-Canada's Le Téléjournal*. As the clock counted off the seconds to 10 p.m., Derome's normally

The National's 1.2 million viewers, equal to 17 per cent of the English-speaking Canadian watching television at that time. Says Robertson, who has known Derome for more than two decades, "Bernard is the profession's professional. He takes his work seriously and respects his audience's intelligence."

Inside: Although *The National* and *Le Téléjournal* are both products of the CBC, they differ markedly in style and content. "Our audience is mostly Quebecers, and they are a little more Latin," says Derome. "So, perhaps



easygoing demeanor changed—he snapped his fingers dramatically and the show's theme music flooded the studio. And in living rooms across Quebec, hundreds of thousands of people sat back to watch the province's most trusted anchorman. Says Louise Cossette, TV critic for the Montreal daily *La Presse*: "Derome is Mr. Credibility. At 10 p.m., he is the one you watch. He is unparalleled."

For 22 years, in fact, Derome's presence has been a reassuring constant in a sometimes dizzying world of change. At 66, he is the francophone equivalent of Peter Mansbridge and Lloyd Robertson rolled into one—intuitive, avuncular and authoritative. On any given night, *Le Téléjournal* reaches about 870,000 viewers, or 28 per cent of the francophone audience at that time slot. That compares with

Derome: "I am a public figure. But I am not a star. That whole idea should be blown up."

there is a little more emotion in our newscasts. I am not afraid of showing emotion when something terrible has happened."

Derome is also unafraid to use body language. In most English-language newscasts, the camera focuses tightly on the newscaster's head and shoulders. But *Le Téléjournal* takes a wider shot from a higher angle, which allows viewers to see Derome's hands. He is rarely without a pen in his right hand and often presses the tip of his thumb and index finger together to make a point with his left hand. English Cossette: "Derome is more French in his approach. He will punctuate certain phrases with a movement of his hand and use his hands well. When you watch European evening news, *Mantel*, on the other hand, hardly moves at all."

In contrast as well, *The National* and *Le*



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When the ground is frozen and the snow lies deep, take yourself off to the Algarve—the beautiful sun blessed south of Portugal. You'll discover golden, uncrowded beaches, hidden coves, and gaily painted fishing boats. The ocean provides fresh seafood and sports are world famous.

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portugal
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Set any other luxury car on cruise and you'll feel the engine accelerate and decelerate every time you go up or down a hill. So the 1993 Mazda 929 Serenia has "fuzzy logic," a computerized system that automatically adjusts the cruise control so it always feels smooth, no matter when or how the road changes. The 929 Serenia also employs safety innovations like engine and trunk crumple zones, and driver and front-passenger air bags are standard equipment. The 929 Serenia features Mazda's most advanced multi-link suspension ever, and a powerful double-overhead-cam, 24-valve engine too. As a result, the ride and handling are superb. Gauges and controls have been rethought, facing the driver directly, for glare-free legibility. The most frequently used can be reached without your hands ever having to leave the wheel. The driver's seat, four years in development, provides gentle support for the third lumbar vertebra. And the expansive windows provide excellent visibility in all directions. The 1993 Mazda 929 Serenia. A unique blend of beauty and innovative technology. Luxury so advanced, it evens out the road.

The 1993 Mazda 929 Serenia.

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mazda
IT JUST FEELS RIGHT

TRYING TO GO HOME AGAIN

A Maclean's writer returns to his Montreal roots

Maclean's Senior Writer Peter Kopylov was born in Montreal in 1954. His family moved to the Toronto area in 1963, when he was 15. He recently revisited the city of his birth—and discovered that it still bugs at the heart. His report

Montreal strikes me curious. It should not be that way. I was born there 36 years ago on Choiseul Ave., one block east of the Montreal Forum, in a fourth-floor apartment that my family shared with another Second World War refugee from Eastern Europe. The following years of my life on King Edward Ave., a tree-lined street of four-plus apartments in the west-end neighborhood of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. My father's mother, the only one of my grandparents to survive the war, is buried in a cemetery on the West Island. My mother and her three children still live in the West Island community of Beaconsfield. I have roots in Montreal, as well as connections firmly rooted in the province. But the city still amazes me.

Part of that is the result of emotional baggage. The telephone conversation within which I grew up as disappearing—some would say liquidated—out of existence. My family left Montreal in 1969, when the housing campaign of the Parti Québécois at Québec had already entered the city. Others soon followed. For many, the memories remain bitter; the nostalgic references I remember a moment in the late 1970s, on a visit a few years after the Parti Québécois came to power, strong at dusk on the front porch of an older acquaintance's cottage in the nearby Laurentians. Mountains. Mountains, he recalled what it had been like to lose his homeland, then said, "It feels as if it is happening all over again."

That past comes flooding back every time I travel to Montreal. And, over the years, I have had

enough unpleasant confrontations in the city, usually the result of my poor French, that I approach each visit with a sense of trepidation. It is that way now as the place touches down at Dorval airport. Across the lawns, Mount Royal seems somehow ominous as it squats under grey clouds. I adjust my bags and prepare to disembark. Home again.

Beneath a sky the color of ground concrete, a cold wind stirs leaves scraping across the pavement as I walk through my old neighborhood. Something always drives me back to these streets—an unspoken debt to a child's fascination with picking at a scab. Three East Asian girls pass me on the street, chatting to



Saga: 'I have never felt discriminated against'

Saint-Frédéric. Before the construction of Bld 181 in 1877, which forced the children of mass immigrants to be educated in French, they would likely have attended an English language school. The Shaan Zedek synagogue, around the corner from where we once lived, is still there, across the street lies my old elementary school, St. Arthur Centre.

It closed in 1980, the year of Québec's sovereignty referendum. When I last saw it, the building was being used for storage. I stood in the schoolyard, disoriented, wiping away the dust from a window in an early morning but a jumble of old desks and chairs in a disheveled classroom. Now, children's voices again ring out from the playground—but they are French voices. The school has reopened as part of the French Catholic school board, and is now called the Ecole Les Enfants du Monde.

I am a stranger here, faces peer suspiciously through windows as I walk along King Edward Ave. for a second time. Even the street signs have not escaped the turmoil of the past years—although there have been compromises. In French, King Edward Ave. should be Avenue du roi Édouard, assuming that a British monarch's name would be acceptable. Instead, no doubt due to the cost of manufacturing new signs, the "Ave." has simply been corrected over. King Edward still reigns—but he does not change French syntax.

A short walk to the northwest, the small mall where we once shopped remains largely English-speaking. But most of the shoppers are Jewish. It reminds me of parts of Florida—without the heat.

"The past is the past," says interior designer Tina Pilbrow, 32. "You can't change it—you have to look forward." We share a common history: both of us were born into Montreal's south but vibrant Eastern community. Both of our families moved to the Toronto area, here in 1974. But in 1986 she returned to the city of her birth with her husband, Nir, a Toronto-born of Eastern background, accepted a job with a British-owned insurance firm.

It was not an easy decision. "At first I was afraid I couldn't handle it because I had such a strong emotional attachment to the city as a child," she says. The first three years were difficult, it took time, she says, to accept the changes. Some of her personal belongings had disappeared, among them her public school. The city's Eastern community had become a shadow of its former self. And, alone at, she had trouble coming to terms with the city's linguistic tensions.

Part of the problem, stemmed from her



childhood experiences. She grew up in the West Island community of Roberval, on a street that was a mix of Anglophones and francophones, not untroubled. "It was a little idyllic," Pilbrow recalls.

The multicultural politics of language that she encountered upon her return unsettled her. Her reaction may have been "a little bit naive," she acknowledges. But Pilbrow adds: "It was lived by a street where there was acceptance."

Since then, she says, Montreal seems to have become more accommodating. The regularly spoken French in stores, often the clerks switch to English. "I'll ask, 'Is my French so bad?'" she says. "Usually the response is, 'Not at all—I just want to practice.'" She has learned to love the city from a different perspective—largely because of her exposure, through her work, to a new generation of francophones. For them, she says, ability, not language, is the overriding issue. "They ask, 'What are you capable of—can you get the job done?'" Pilbrow says.

Some things remain painful. She was not fortunate in being hired to run her childhood home, which her father built. And, she recalls, "When I first came back, I no longer considered myself a Montrealer." But the city leaves an indelible impression on most people born and raised there. While living in Toronto, Pilbrow visited Montreal frequently—and always left an emotional scar. After her re-

King Edward Ave.: for many former residents, there are bitter memories

turn, she says, "I looked at that tag at the heart we've made in a Montrealer."

It Montreal can seduce those who return, it certainly continues to seduce first-time visitors. At the Windsor apartment, I meet Mira Verman, the director general of the Eastern Civil Aviation Administration. She has spent about three weeks in the city, attending meetings of the International Civil Aviation Organization, which has its headquarters in Montreal. Of the many cities he has visited, Montreal has impressed him most favorably, largely because of the way it has balanced history and modernity. "Montreal seems to have the greatest potential for balanced development," he says.

The city gradually begins to work its charm on me as well. There is much that I have forgotten: the graceful architecture, the long sweep of the streets as they rise from St. Catherine St. towards Mount Royal. The mountain now becomes what it has always been—a benevolent at the heart of the city. "Twilight somehow seems more luminous in Montreal," as the streets, trees and buildings radiate with the stored light of day. Even the amazing anarchy of the road system a strange liberating to a man too long accustomed by the north-west end of Toronto.

Added to that are the moments of sheer wonder that only Montreal can provide. In a quiet, daily life on Rue de la Montagne,

gottier often playing over hidden headphones, my fellow diners include two warmly dressed older women. They speak animatedly in Italian, passing to give their orders to the waitress in fluent French. Two Anglophone businessmen sit at a table against one wall. Seated alone at the window, an elderly francophone woman chats with a francophone businessman two tables over. She attempts her conversation to sing along, loudly and in English, to Paula Carter's *This Is My Song*.

Among the Anglophones who remain in Montreal, a common refrain is, "I can think of no place like I'd rather live." Murray Sack stayed here lived a few dozen years from me, for a while we were best friends. His parents were Polish Jews. Every Friday night, at sunset, his mother lit the Sabbath candles and they remain one of my enduring childhood memories. Returning to the end of the Saguenay's long front hallway. To get there, we walked towards adulthood. "Who do you hate the most?" we once asked each other during an intense conversation in his basement. He said Hitler. I countered with Stalin. "We were both right," he now laughs.

I ask him how it has felt to be through the changes. He says that his experience has gone against the statistics. About 70 per cent of his close friends still live in Montreal. A graduate of McGill University's Master of Business Administration program, he has always been able to find employment, and now works as the assistant director of Concordia University's Centre for Continuing Education. He acknowledges

THE HIGHLIGHTS

Over the past two years, federal, provincial and Aboriginal leaders have consulted with thousands of Canadians and special interest groups from coast to coast. These consultations included Royal Commissions, participatory conferences, parliamentary hearings, and hearings in the provinces and territories held by provincial and territorial legislatures. Federal, provincial, territorial and Aboriginal leaders have agreed unanimously on a package of constitutional proposals that recognizes the equality of all Canadians and represents all of our interests. The agreement is now before Canadians.

A Social and Economic Union

The agreement proposes that the new Constitution would contain a statement of key economic and social objectives shared by all of the governments in the federation. The objectives include comprehensive, universal, portable, accessible and publicly administered health care, adequate social services and benefits, high quality primary and secondary education and reasonable access to post-secondary education, collective bargaining rights and a commitment to

protecting the environment. The economic policy objectives to be enshrined would be aimed at strengthening the Canadian economic union, the free movement of persons, goods, services, and capital, ensuring full employment and a reasonable standard of living for all Canadians, ensuring sustainable and equitable development.

Avoiding Overlap and Duplication

Exclusive provincial jurisdiction would be recognized in the areas of forestry, mining, tourism, housing, recreation, municipal affairs, cultural matters within the province and labour market development and training. In addition, to ensure the two levels of government work in harmony, the government at Canada commits to negotiate agreements with the provinces in areas such as immigration, regional development and telecommunications. Federal-provincial agreements on any subject could be protected by the Constitution from unilateral change.

As was the case in the Meech Lake agreement, the new Canadian Constitution would recognize the distinct nature of

Distinct Society

Quebec, based on its French language, unique culture and civil law tradition. In the reformed Parliament, the Senate would reflect the equality of the provinces while the House of Commons would be based more on the principle of representation by population. As well, Quebec would be assured a minimum 25% of the seats in the House of Commons.

The proposed Senate would be made up of six elected senators from each province and one from each territory. Additional seats would provide representation for Aboriginal peoples. The reform Senate's powers should significantly increase the role of the elected Senators in the policy process.

The proposal recognizes that Aboriginal peoples have an inherent right to self-government and that the Constitution should enable them to develop self-government arrangements

Aboriginal Self-Government

and to take their place in the Canadian federation. The proposal recognizes Aboriginal governments as one of the three constitutionally recognized orders of government in Canada. In addition, the proposal

provides for a negotiation process between Aboriginal leaders and provincial and federal governments to put this right into effect. The recognition of the inherent right would not create any new rights to land.

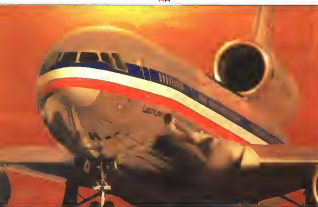
Now that Canada's federal, provincial, territorial and Aboriginal leaders have reached a consensus, it is the right of all Canadians to understand the new proposals. Call the toll free number below to receive an easy-to-read booklet on the new constitutional agreement or a complete text.

It's your right to know what the constitutional proposals say before voting on October 28.

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IDENTITY CONFUSION



to confuse her with the
either Vanessa Wil-
lams—the pop singer
and former Miss America
who was stripped of her
title in 1984. The confu-
sion may get worse: The
Los Angeles-based ac-
tress is also a singer, and
she says that she plans to
record her own album.
She added: "I need to
establish my own identity."

ty as people don't have this problem."



Parsons actress **Sophie Michaux** says that starring in *Counterforce*, a Canadian-French-U.S. co-production that is filmed in Toronto and Paris and airs on CTV, puts her in a position where she is "always meeting someone." When I leave Paris, I get homesick for the people that I love," said Michaux. "And when I leave Toronto, I miss the people I came for there." Still, she says that she draws inspiration from her TV character, a compassionate photojournalist who is "very much in harmony with herself." She added: "That is something I am working on. It is a positive thing to do—to look inside yourself and learn and grow."

Michael's 'learn and grow'

It was a busy day for two-sport Lathrop Deion Sanders. On Oct. 13, he played football for the Atlanta Falcons in Miami, then flew to Pittsburgh to suit up with baseball's Atlanta Braves for Game 5 of the National League playoffs. During the game, Olt's Tim Lincecum criticized Sanders for not being fully committed to the Braves in their playoff battle. But in the locker room after the Braves' Oct. 14 pregame victory at Atlanta, Sanders enacted old (McCarver later called it "candidly") message: he tracked down the commentator and doused him with three buckets of water.



Sanders: donning a critic

Peter Aykroyd, who was the public relations director for Canada's centennial celebration in 1967, says that at the time, "nobody knew why we were doing it—it was just something we had to do." Now, in his new book, *The Anniversary Compulsion*, Aykroyd explores the need for anniversaries and re-examines his own centennial experiences. Said Aykroyd, 70: "There are a number of scandalous things on certain of the individuals who participated"—including centennial commissioner John Fisher and then-Secretary of State Maurice Lévesque. The book has already garnered one endorsement—from the author's famous son. Said Dan Aykroyd: "If the book is anything like it is in recounting his time at home, it should do pretty well."

For the first time since 1974, the Booker Prize was awarded last week to two novelists: Brian Barry Unsworth, for his novel *Sacred Hunger*, and Michael Ondaatje, the only Canadian ever to win Britain's most coveted literary

Ondaatje, parking tickets



was modest in victory. "For me, what has always been important is that what is celebrated and talked about in the book," 49-year-old Ordaz said. "To talk about the author as a PR figure is very boring." Asked what he plans to do with his share of the \$65,000 award, he replied: "I'll pay a few parking tickets, to begin with."

THE FINAL STRETCH

WITH TWO WEEKS
TO GO BEFORE THE
NOV. 3 ELECTION,
GEORGE BUSH
STRUGGLES TO
EVEN THE SCORE

Just hours before last week's second presidential debate, Kristian Johnson and Daniel Heller, corporate managers in a large Richmond, Va., transportation company, sat on the sun-dappled granite steps of the state capital, designed by Thomas Jefferson, and pondered Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's dilemma. Despite his commanding 16-to-10-point lead in national opinion polls, they said, the Democratic candidate's support was soft and he must still overcome a lingering distrust of his character. That problem had been fanned by weeks of negative Republican advertising culminating in Vice-President Dan Quayle's pointed attack in an Oct. 13 debate with Clinton's running mate, Sen. Albert Gore. But Heller acknowledged that the public was fed up with the mudslinging and wanted the candidates to talk about real issues. "I think it's backfiring for the Republican administration going after what Bill Clinton did in 1995," he said. "We are more interested in what George Bush can do for the economy." Added Johnson, "People are tired of the below-the-belt music and want to hear something substantial." Later, as the debate unfolded, the same sentiment was apparent when the substance of uncontested issues was questioned: Bush, Clinton and Independent Ross Perot in a town-hall-style setting in Richmond.

Indeed, when the President launched into an attack on Clinton for threatening against the Vietnam war in the 1960s, audience members groaned their disapproval. They quickly turned the debate back to a wide range of concerns, from health care and the deficit to gun control and welfare issues. Watching the televised proceedings at the townhouse office, Johnson and Heller said that Clinton showed command of the issues while Bush appeared defensive and out of touch with the average person. Heller said he would vote for Clinton, Johnson said



Clinton with Bush and Perot at Richmond debate; voters are tired of mudslinging

that she remained undecided. Perot, they both said, could not be taken seriously as a presidential contender. A soup can News poll after the debate appeared to mirror those opinions. Of 1,394 registered voters questioned, 54 percent said that Clinton won the debate, 25 percent favored Bush and 20 percent liked Perot. Self Johnson, who admitted first during the more formal first debate on Oct. 11 she flicked her TV dial back to the National League championship series between the Atlanta Braves and Pittsburgh Pirates. "George Bush is at the bottom of the ninth, two outs and he's on run behind."

Clinton, too, has had to fight the odds in his

campaign. The early third-tier contest among the five candidates in the Democratic primaries last winter, Clinton suffered what analysts at the time claimed were fatal losses: opponents in his own party branded him "Slick Willie" for his slippery answers on such controversial issues as abortion and capital punishment; and the national media portrayed him as a dumb-looking, ewig-wearing wannabe. Voters' first telling expression of the little-known governor was when he and Hillary Clinton made their solemn vow to be on an interview a late January on 60 Minutes, one of the most watched shows in the nation. Facing tough questioning, he demurred along when he had had an affair with

onetime nightclub singer Gennifer Flowers, but admitted to having had marital problems. Said Kathy Korne, an analyst at the Washington-based American Enterprise Institute: "It was a tough way to be introduced to the American public."

But like the Atlanta Braves, who last week staged a scoring come-from-behind victory to win a berth at the World Series against the Toronto Blue Jays, Clinton now appears poised to complete a dramatic comeback of his own. It was Perot's entry into the presidential race on

in campaign has torn across America last summer, and in last week's debates, Clinton polished that image. In Richmond, he did not deliver a knock-out punch. But analysts said that his poised and composed the voters carried the day. At a critical point in the debate, one woman pointedly asked the three contenders: "How has the national debt personally affected each of your lives and, if it hasn't, how can you honestly find a cure for the economic problems of the common people if you have an expectation in what is using them?" Bush, a wealthy patron, fumbled for an answer, saying "I am not sure I get that. Help me with the question and I'll try to answer it."

Clinton, on the other hand, used the opportunity to reiterate his anti-of-the-people credentials. Looking straight at the questioner, he replied that as the governor of a small state, "we as people have their jobs; there's a good chance I'll know them by their names."

At Clinton's neighborhood bar in southern Richmond, parties belatedly gathered to the debate. When Bush hit into Clinton for protesting against the Vietnam war, Steve Biles, a computer consultant, chimed: "George Bush is trying to distract the American people from the issues." Biles, who said that he would not vote for Bush and was leaning towards Clinton, added: "The Republicans are running scared." Jim Bennett, the bar's lone player, said that he had been a Perot supporter but was now also considering voting for Clinton. "I've had enough of Reaganism," he said. "I've had enough of George Bush. The deficit has skyrocketed, the number of homeless has risen dramatically while the numbers that have fallen below the poverty line have risen."

Added Bennett of the Democratic contender: "I can see how it can be done." At a post-debate talk, Clinton accused opponents of wanting the race, but added that he was not looking for a personal victory. "I want us to see Nov. 3—not a victory of party, but a victory for all the people of this country," he said. But the next morning, Clinton cautioned supporters against over-optimism because he had a big leg in opinion polls. Taking a cue from the Pittsburgh Pirates' batman-of-the-month loss to the Atlanta Braves, he declared: "The lesson is it's not over all at once. It is politics as a baseball. But Barry's much-overrated aphorism means a warning to do it well."

REILLY MACKENZIE in Richmond

World Notes

DISASTER IN EGYPT

A powerful earthquake in Cairo killed at least 530 people, injured about 4,000 others and left thousands homeless. According to Egyptian government officials, 1,291 people were killed, 4,000 were injured, 2,652 were damaged in the quake—the worst in the country's modern history. The Canadian government donated \$200,000 to an international relief effort.

DRAFTY DISCLOSURES

Russian President Boris Yeltsin released secret documents revealing that Stalin's Politburo in 1940 ordered the execution of nearly 20,000 Poles, including nearly 5,000 senior army officers whose bodies were dumped in a mass grave in the forests of Yurga. Yeltsin also handed over previously secret documents to South Korea and the United States concerning the 1982 downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 by Soviet fighters jets in Soviet airspace, which killed 269 people. Among the documents was a letter to then-foreign leader Yuri Andropov from the country's defense minister and head of the KGB, saying that there was no evidence that the plane jet had been spying. In both cases, Yeltsin accused former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev of covering the information.

NEW BLOOD

A Beijing-controlled newspaper reported that eight top Communist leaders, including the president and the defense minister, have decided to retire from the 14-member Politburo and the 170-member policy-making Central Committee. The retirement of the leaders, whose average age is 74, is in line with Communist party policy to rejuvenate its top ranks and gain at least nominal power to a new generation committed to economic reform.

A KILLER WILL DIE

A Russian court sentenced 32-year-old Andrei Chuklov to death for 52-year-old rape victims during a 13-year time-span from 1965 to 1978. Chuklov, a Russian and Uzbekistan, Chuklov, who confessed to the brutal killings, was a Russian-language teacher and office worker during the heinous spree.

SHEDDING DOWN THE HEMES

Shedding British Coal announced that it will close 21 of its 50 mines, throwing 30,000 coal out of work at a time when Britain is suffering 30-per-cent unemployment, a five-year high. The national Union of Mineworkers threatened to hold a strike vote in an effort to stop the closures.

BEYOND THE REFERENDUM

In the senior financial circles of New York City and London last week, Robert Bourassa and Jacques Parizeau were the talk of the town. In Manhattan, Mario Loria, an economist at Salomon Brothers, fielded calls from Japanese clients about the Oct. 13 referendum debate between the Liberal premier and the Parti Québécois leader. Meanwhile in London, European clients of Toronto-based brokerage Innes Wood Gundy Inc. were also clamoring for details of the constitutional debate's outcome when markets opened the following morning. Foreign investors were apparently reassured by reports of Bourassa's strong performance in the debate and by efforts by Canadian diplomats and government dealers, including those from Wood Gundy, to explain domestic developments. Then, just two days later, they dumped Canadian currency and bonds when the influential Manhattan-based credit-rating agency Standard & Poor's Corp. downgraded some federal government debt. "Our clients are following Canada very closely," said Philip Bates, sales manager with Wood Gundy in London. "Many of them probably know as much about the Constitution as some Canadians do."

For the Mulroney government, which is trying to rein in speculation in international money markets about Canada's future, that heightened attention is proving to be a double-edged sword. Well-informed investors are now looking beyond the Oct. 26 referendum at Canada's long-term economic prospects. And clearly, many of them do not like what they see. Indeed, Standard & Poor's carefully worked report emphasized that its reduction of Canada's creditworthiness was related to the country's growing foreign debt load rather than international assessments about the Constitution. "The referendum may be a factor in the Canadian economy over the medium-term," said Philip Bates, a managing director at the credit agency. "This move was based on a fundamental, downward trend—not just one event."

The sharp—but temporary—dip of the Canadian dollar on currency markets clearly illustrated that both investors and governments are less prone to panic than they were in the early days of the referendum campaign. On Oct. 1, the Bank of Canada increased its credit-

SPECULATORS ARE BETTING THAT CANADA IS HEADED FOR ECONOMIC TROUBLE IF IT VOTES YES OR NO

rating rate by two percentage points to 7.62 per cent to defend the plummeting dollar after Prime Minister Brian Mulroney ruffled investor markets by warning of severe consequences from a No vote. At the same time, the bank spent \$5.2 billion, the largest amount ever, to support the currency. Last week, the dollar fell by almost one cent against the greenback, dipping below 80 cents (U.S.), shortly after Standard & Poor's lowered the credit rating to AA-plus from the top rate of AAA. But the following day the dollar recovered its lost ground. That allowed the Bank of Canada to lower its rate for the first time in five weeks, to 7.41 per cent from 7.62 per cent.

The volatility of Canada's currency last week, experts said, was less a reflection about the country than about the fundamental changes in international money markets. Financially, changes in the value of currencies have taken place over a relatively long period. But increasingly, the currency markets have become so sensitive for speculators who move billions of dollars worth of so-called hot money around the world electronically. Unsurprised by the returns available from stocks and commodity investments, many have turned to the currency and international bond markets. In recent months, wild swings in exchange and interest rates have created opportunities for quick profits. "The hot money can move in and out and back again in 15 minutes," said Raymond Tighe, foreign exchange trader with UTI America Inc. in New York. "And there are a lot of politicians who play out their right now."

Indeed, Canada has been caught up at the



international upheavals that erupted in Europe just before the Sept. 30 French referendum on European economic union under the Maastricht Treaty. In six days leading up to that vote, Germany's halfhearted attempt to help ease the pressure on its neighbors by lowering its high interest rates backfired, forcing Britain and Italy to devalue their currencies. After French voters narrowly approved the treaty, speculators began betting on the Canadian referendum, assuming the pressure on the dollar. Solomon's Loria said that, initially at least, "even the word 'referendum' had strong negative connotations."

In a market dominated increasingly by speculation, Western and Asian governments have struggled to respond to the pressure. But intervention by central banks to support a currency's value has been expensive and of limited effectiveness. Last week, Bank of France governor Jacques de Larosière disclosed that the government had spent \$48 billion to defend the franc during September. And despite the Bank of Canada's unprecedented intervention in currency markets in September, the dollar fell by 3.5 cents (U.S.), forcing the central bank to raise its rate by two percentage points on Oct. 1. Many economists say that such responses to short-term fluctuations could stifle an economic recovery led by Richard Lippart, an economist at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C. "If they have to keep interest rates that high for six months, we will definitely have some problems."

In Canada, the skillfulness of currency markets has also caused Mulroney and his colleagues, Finance Minister Michael Manomet and International Trade Minister Michael Wilson, to assume their words carefully as they solicit support for a Yes vote. At the same time as they are trying to convince Canadians that a No vote would mean economic fallout, they are trying to sway business outsiders. "Foreigners talk a lot to any sign of political uncertainty," said Michael Carrau, a currency-futures trader with Toronto brokerage firm Burn Fry Ltd. He added, "And even if they don't fully understand, they pick it up."

Regardless of the referendum's outcome, it is taking place at a sensitive time for many foreign investors. According to market experts, the Japanese, who hold an estimated 40 per cent of Canada's \$300-billion foreign debt, are disenchanted with their underperforming North American investments. Indeed, new direct Japanese investment in the United States dropped by 70 per cent to \$5.6 billion last year from an average of \$16.8 billion in the period 1988 to 1990. The Japanese desire to repatriate capital has been heightened by an increasingly recessionary economic climate.

That weakness has forced Japanese investors to sell off some of their foreign holdings to cover losses at home. In September, Japanese bank deposits were up by 35 per cent from the same month a year earlier. "The Japanese bought into the United States at the

Malinowski and Mulroney: trying to reassure anxious foreign investors

Business Notes

REVOLVING RETURNS

Canada Savings Bonds will pay investors an 8 per cent interest in the first year, the federal finance department has announced. That yield is down from 7.5 per cent at the end of last year. The rate of interest is the lowest since 1986, which goes on sale this week, will be set annually for each of the next 11 years to maturity. The individual purchase limit for the 2002 series has been increased to \$100,000 from \$75,000.

THE LOAN ARRANGER

The Federal Canada Deposit Insurance Corp. will provide the Toronto-based Toronto-Dominion Bank with \$2.5 billion in loan guarantees against loans relating to the bailout of General Country Trust Co. of Halifax. TD has agreed to pay \$125 million for the troubled trust's 154 branches, \$5 billion in assets and all of its deposit liabilities.

A NEW BREAK FOR ENERGY

The government of Alberta has unveiled the royalty structure for oil and natural gas in an attempt to stimulate the provincial energy industry. Under the new structure, the royalty payments to energy producers to the province would be flexible and linked to the current world price of oil and gas in their state. The provincial government estimated that the changes, the first since the royalty regime was introduced in 1973, will save the industry about \$250 million annually by the mid-1990s.

COMPETING A LOSS

International Business Machines Corp. of Armonk, N.Y. posted its second-largest quarterly loss last week. IBM management blamed the \$3.6-billion loss in the third quarter on flat sales levels and financial write-downs related to employee layoffs and plant closures. The company has already frozen corporate spending and is trying to restructure its product line to focus on personal computers rather than mainframe computers.

SAVING THE EC

Leaders of the European Community gathered last week in Birmingham, England, for an emergency session. The principal subject of discussion was how to prevent a total financial and political collapse in the Maastricht Treaty on monetary and political union. By week end, the 10 EC members had agreed to limit centralization under the treaty and to work to preserve national identities. The next summit will be held in Edinburgh in December.

top of the market "and Melvyn Lerman trader Tughe: "Now, they just want to go home."

Japan is not the only capital-exporting nation to retreat recently. Germany, too, has turned away to focus on reunification and on reconstruction of the former East Germany. To help pay the high cost of that ambitious program, Germany has raised its interest rates to attract foreign funds. With more global competition for capital, some analysts predict that Canada will continue to have difficulty attracting investment even if the Yen sale proceeds in the referendum.

So far, however, the Mulroney government has focused most of its efforts on trying to reassure foreign investors about the vote itself. Through its embassies and trade commissions, Ottawa has been trying to elicit

major foreign investors about the constitutional issue and to encourage them about Canada's longer-term economic recovery. Such foreign department spokesmen Thomas Van Dusen: "Our emissaries are constantly working their networks and contacts. It's not a dramatic



Traders at the Tokyo Stock Exchange. Canada has been caught up in international upheavals.

contingency plan, it's a constant process." These efforts appear to have had some success. Salomon's Lerman, for one, said that her firm's European and Japanese clients are now much better informed about the market state in the referendum. Added Lerman: "It took

some time for financial markets to understand that a No vote won't necessarily mean the bankruptcy of the country."

Many foreign investors appear less anxious about the outcome of the vote than they were even a month ago, but their concerns about Canada's long-term economic prospects appear to have intensified. The Standard & Poor's report noted the country's deteriorating balance of payments and the doubling of the national debt over the past decade as two of the principal reasons for downgrading Ottawa's foreign currency bonds. Because Standard & Poor's informed Ottawa of the impending downgrade several days before it released the report, Canadian diplomats had a head start in reassuring foreigners. It also gave the Prime Minister's Office time to negotiate and to announce a federal-provincial "economic strategy," to be held within two weeks of the referendum vote, regardless of the outcome.

There's little doubt that Canada's weakened economy needs attention. But the referendum result itself may not have much impact on the economy. In the six months that followed the collapse of the Merrill Lake accord on June 23, 1990, the dollar shrank steadily and direct foreign investment jumped by 50 per cent, to \$3.9 billion, compared with the first half of that year. At that time, however, foreign investors were searching for safe havens for their money and alternative sources of oil following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August, 1990. As a result, they moved money into both Canada and the United States. Now, despite the efforts of Rousselle, Furusawa and other Canadian political leaders to convince foreign investors of the economic merits of their position, they will have to contend with the fact that those investors have priorities of their own.

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Canada and Quebec: separated at birth

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

For three decades now, Quebec and the rest of Canada have been dealing with each other in a series of confrontations of uneven intensity and unpredictable intensity, seeking—but not, until the Charlottetown accord, finding—the elusive compromise.

The chief difficulty—not only during the current referendum battle, but in almost every debate on national issues since Confederation—has been the same, seemingly insoluble puzzle of how to grant Quebec control over its destiny without wrecking Canada as the process: how to create two "nations" and still have one country.

That apparent goal is the heart of our present dilemma. Quebec's view of its historical roots always returns to the divided Congress of 1791, which put an end to English-French rivalry across North America, creating a new political order in which the victors emerged dominant, but the vanquished were given the privilege of maintaining their values and institutions. That duality was reflected in the new provisions constitutional arrangements, signed in 1791, 1794, 1799, 1840 and 1867.

It all comes down to symbols and to feelings, which is why the "divisive society" clause in the current agreement is so essential. Ideally, a country's constitution should express the leading force of its evolving conscience, instead of being used as a weapon to coerce people into changing their minds. Unfortunately, there wasn't enough time for a consensus to emerge before the referendum was called.

And so we're stuck in this quagmire of a dilemma with Quebec and the rest of Canada starting off from entirely different premises. Most people in the rest of Canada believe that Quebec joined Confederation at birth, becoming a province just like any other. But within French Canada, Confederation represents the disavowal of a partnership between the founding nations.

What Quebecers have never been able to understand is why the rest of us don't enjoy

How many countries are there that would calmly allow a democratic vote on their own disintegration?

their tactics and fight to preserve our distinctive society, just as hard as they're scrambling to protect and foster theirs. The answer, of course, is that we don't really believe in ourselves as a nation. That's why English Canada tends to delude itself not by what it is, but by what it isn't, namely American—at least not yet. Most English-Canadian believe we just won't do it, so we're some kind of historical accident, and must survive by inertia, if at all.

Unlike English Canada, Quebec has belatedly exploited its uniqueness, utilizing its civil code to enforce language and cultural rights, while at the same time asking the federal system for every possible concession. The fact that premier Maurice Duplessis, during "seigneurialism" in the 1950s, would not allow Ottawa to collect the province's income tax, has meant that Quebecers have to fill out two separate income tax forms. More important, it has allowed successive Quebec governments to set up some powerful, almost autonomous agencies. Collecting taxes has allowed Quebec City to lay its hands on the money Quebecers pay into government pension funds. Thus was born the \$4-billion Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec, the

country's largest capital pool, which the Quebec government independently uses as part of its industrial strategy. Quebec also has the honor of the Mouvement Régional, the \$46-billion banking conglomerate, which escapes federal regulation because it's a co-operative.

We could have done all that and more, but chose instead to attack Quebec for having the nerve to act with self-asserting independence. The odds shifted long ago in English Canada to achieve an easily convincing state of grace. We failed, and now it may be too late. Too late, that is, unless we can grab the compromise handsomely at Charlottetown, and run with them.

Though that accord has been torn apart by the No forces, it represents the most profound reform of our national political institutions since Confederation. "These changes," according to political scientist Murray Stenner of Ottawa's Carleton University, "are now and in some ways to solve one of the oldest problems of democracy—that majority rules may be used to threaten a vulnerable minority. With these reforms, Canadian institutions will give francophones and aboriginal peoples a special role that reflects their legitimate need for constitutional and political protection."

That's precisely why the separatist case in Quebec, as championed by Jacques Parizeau, depends on killing the Charlottetown accord. Its passage says how would leave him with little substantive reason to advocate Quebec independence—except for such cosmetic add-ons as a seat at the United Nations and some patronage appointments. Otherwise is he really being held open for Richard Holden, the turncoat MNA from Westmount who became the PQ's most high-profile English-speaking member after he deserted the Liberal party?

Canada without Quebec would become a better and even more divided country. We would lose our spot among the G-7 countries (being replaced by Spain), while an independent Quebec would automatically seek just to be liked, not loved. As autonomous Quebecers have to negotiate energy prices with a Canada that might not be interested in dealing with the leaders of the Canadian dream. "Once Quebec secedes," predicted Francis Dalbo, the Calgary energy expert, as one of his last columns for *The Resource*, "the two-year gap 'the national bond' and the parliamentary structure that has served Quebec's interests in Confederation will be gone. What remains of Canada may not be in the process of moral Quebec expects, in terms of equity markets, the self-destruction of Quebec is not the equivalent of the dissolution of Germany—it is the partition of Ireland."

Every nation is destined to have its day, and there are no guarantees that countries will go on forever. It is a mark of what we have achieved as a society that we are able to hold a referendum on peaceful and self-determination in this way. How many countries are there left in the world that would calmly allow a democratic vote on their own destruction?

Let's hope that by allowing the former we don't bring about the latter.

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SPORTS

THE PASSPORT SERIES

Ninety minutes after the Toronto Blue Jays clinched a historic place in baseball's World Series last week, the cavernous interior of SkyDome was empty and almost dark, lit only by a few work lights high above in the roof's superstructure. Team executives had closed the Jays' dugout at bats, lockers and towels, leaving behind the sticky testament of life on the bench—spilled Gatorade and spewed tobacco juice. Gone was the raucous cacophony of 51,335 diehards fans celebrating the team's first-ever pennant. Instead, out at the glass came the echo of one of baseball's purest, sweetest sounds—the rhythmic snap of ball meeting glove. In the bullpen beyond the left-

**THE BLUE JAYS
CARRY CANADA'S
HOPES INTO THE
PREMIER EVENT
OF AMERICA'S
NATIONAL PASTIME**

field fence, pitcher Jack Morris was warming up. Morris had abandoned the interviews and champagne showers and babbling on in the clubhouse, and, with pitching coach Golen Cuccinell and reserve catcher Mike Makarczuk, was already getting ready to carry Toronto's hopes into Game 1 of the Series against the Atlanta Braves. The time to revel in victory was not at hand—yet. "It's great to believe and all," said Jays manager Cito Gaston a few days later at Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium, "but we want to win it all."

Two-down, and now to go. Already champions at their division and the American League, the team of Americans, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans who play in Toronto carried the hopes of

Canada into the greatest event of America's national pastime. In a three-way compact, the players, the city and the country all sought a World Series victory—now. The players' agency comes from veterans like Morris, Dave Winfield and Joe Carter, who understood that such chances do not come around very often.

"I've played really hard for a long time, but I wasn't lucky enough until now to be a part of a team—a real team," a drowsed Winfield said after the Jays defeated Oakland four games to two in the American League playoffs last week, sending thousands of screaming, banner-waving fans pouring along downtown Yonge Street. The Jays also face an off-season of potential change, with up to a dozen players eligible for free agency and no guarantees that they will all be back next season. "I've put eight years of my life into this team, and I wanted to be a part of winning a pennant," said relief pitcher Tim Lincecum, whose contract expires at the end of the season. "I don't know what will happen this winter, so it was important to me to do it now."

The city wants it badly, too. Having lost as well for the 1996 Summer Olympics to Atlanta, Toronto's love affair with baseball seems more than a desperate Atlanta of its first World Series championship. And there is added incentive in

this role of two cities. Atlanta manager Bobby Cox and third-base coach Jerry Wallace are both former Jays; Jay managers, while Toronto manager Cito Gaston—the first black ever to lead his team to the World Series—also played for the Braves. Gaston was also well aware that, to a certain extent, a white country was rooting for his club. "We represent Canada," he said, "and we're proud of that." Added Winfield: "We're kindly aware that we don't represent just one little burg. We represent an entire country."

In fact, the Braves-Jays clash presented an intriguing political matchup. The best-of-seven autumn ritual pitted the self-styled "America's Team," which developed a national following via owner Ted Turner's superstation (now owned by cable companies across the United States and Canada), against what is arguably Canada's team. Toronto may be the city that Canadians love to hate, but a recent Gallup poll showed that, for the majority of Canadian respondents in all provinces except Quebec, fans of the National League's Montreal Expos, the Jays were the team they loved to root for most.

One fan, Prince Maurice Denis Mulroney, even suggested that, like the Jays, the Expos be in the Oct. 26 national referendum would ultimately prevail. (Unlike the Expos, however, the Jays are forced to wait.) Some partisans suggested that the feel-good mood of a Jays triumph might actually influence the referendum vote. "It's great the Blue Jays made the World Series," said Michele Storti, executive director of Calgary's Together For Canada Committee. "It will make a difference. These sporting events lighten people's moods. The referendum is an emotional decision, and that is the only Canadian team—even if the players are American—to make it so far."

In Atlanta, where the locals' mood was

Meatman knowledge of Corns certainly did not include the carnalistic referendum, Braves fans were well-versed in as well as the ordinary showman. "People are very excited about having the first international World Series," said Mike O'Connor, station manager at the city's 203 classic radio station that played 2,000 "Flash the Birds" T-shirts. "The deep South is probably the center point of patriotism in America. So I imagine it will be extremely high on nationalistic feelings." At the Jacks & Jill sports bar in the Atlanta suburb of Norcross, 44-year-old plumber Wayne Peek was asked whether he had any objections to the Braves playing a Canadian team in the World Series. "No gotta understand, we're not that way," he replied. "You're coming to the deep South now. Everybody's welcome down here." But, Peek added: "No hard feelings when we walk away with the Series. It'll take five games—we don't want to lose you too bad."

At the Canadian consulate in Atlanta—a particularly located in Turner's ex-General-communications officer Mary Jane King said, "This is the last outpost of Canadian civilization. We're just camped out here." Officials estimate that up to 5,000 Canadians live in Atlanta, 20 of whom work at the consulate. And on the evening after the Jays captured the American League crown, employees placed a toasty-in-check note on the office door: "Due to unprecedented demand, the Canadian Consulate General is only able to accept congratulations from Blue Jays fans between the hours of 10 and 11 a.m." No one offered any congratulations at all. However, said consul James Elliott, a 55-year-old native of London, Ont. "I've had more television time in the last two days than I've had in the last two years." And what did the reporters want to know? "They asked, 'Do you drive on the right side of the road in Canada?' And how do you get to



Cox (left) and Gaston; Winfield at bat (opposite): a rare chance for both teams



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SPORTS

Toronto from here!" I told them. "Well, you got up 1-75, and when you get to Detroit you have night."

The pennant-winning Jays are a far cry from the modest group assembled for the team's inaugural season, 1977. The entire payroll of that club was less than \$5 million—compared to the \$5 million that the Jays now pay Maestri each year and the team's tab of \$45 million.

"We had a good team," said first base coach Bob Reiser, the team's first selection in the expansion draft that year. "We played to win, and the people supported us. When we didn't win, they still supported us." The team and its city made all the right moves from the start. Even the weather had its chance, as it to yank out the stage of the Great White North, it answered for the home opener at Exhibition Stadium, a place that could be cold in summer, let alone in spring storms. But with the help of the grounds crew, the Jays played and won that game against the Chicago White Sox.

Like their national sibling, the Montreal Expos, who were formed in 1969, the Jays learned that a strong minor-league system and scouting staff were critical to surviving north of the border. Free agents tended to stay away because of no consideration or because, in Maestri put it succinctly, "this is a foreign country."

Both very good and very lucky, the Jays system soon began to produce genuine prospects, outfielders Lloyd Moseley and Jesse Barfield; infielders Tony Fernandez, Alfredo Griffin and Duane Garcia; and pitchers Dave Stieb and Jimmy Key. In intra-league deals, general manager Pat Gillick poached a host of emerging stars such as Henke, infielders Kelly Gruber and Manuel Lee, and sluggers George Bell and Fred McGriff. In 1985, the Jays triumphed in 99 out of 162 games—a team record—and this season the club won 96 games and drew a league-record 4.1 million fans to the SkyDome.

Around the major leagues, the rise from expansion club to serious contender was considered nothing short of miraculous. And more miracles were expected. Gillick now says that expectations outstripped reality. "A lot of teams have good ball clubs but still don't win," he said. "There are a lot of factors that go into winning that you don't have any control over."

The 1985 team, he said, which squandered a 3-1 playoff lead over Kansas City, could not stop the Royals' George Brett. In 1987, injuries to Fernandez and catcher Ernie Whitt crippled a team that seemed to have the American League's bestest division sewn up, only to lose in four seven games. The 1989 Jays, Gillick said, simply were not good enough to beat the formidable Oakland A's in the championship series. And in last year's playoffs against the Minnesota Twins, he added, "we just didn't play well."

For Reiser, the original Blue Jay, the "cheer" label that followed these late-season disappointments is simply not warranted. "You have to remember, as and the Seattle Mariners came into the league at the same time, and the difference is night and day," Reiser said.



Blue Jay were: 51,335 delirious fans celebrating the team's first pennant

"They've had only one winning season, and this season is being criticized for not winning the big one. Seattle would love to be criticized for not winning the big one."

Still, an early Jay debut revealed another hole. Gillick and team president Paul Borison proceeded to fill them in. They crafted a risky high-stakes deal two winters ago with San Diego, giving up the moody but brilliant Pen-

nasides and the aceless McGriff for Carter and a young second baseman with tons of potential, Roberto Alomar. For this year they acquired Maestri, Wladimir and, new season's and, starting pitcher David Cone.

In the process, the Blue Jay brass changed a good team into one that might be great. The Jays at least showed signs of greatness through the season in winning what turned out to be



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SPORTS

baseball's most competitive division, the American League East. Milwaukee clung to postseason rights in the final weekend, but Toronto won the points it had to win. And in the playoffs against Oakland, the Jays took revenge for the beating they absorbed in 1989, when stars Ricky Henderson and José Cordero trumped a game lost undermanned Canadian club.

"This team," said Winfield in one long breath, "has heart, it has character, it has gritting, hitting, defense, it clung back from deficits, didn't listen to negative press, pulled together on the field and off, and won a lot of fan."

Whatever might happen against Atlanta in the series wedged to Toronto this week, the Jays and their fans will always have that marvelous moment last week in the final game against Oakland, when outfielder Cordero made the final out to clinch Toronto's World Series berth. The SkyDome crowd, already roaring, erupted into what, in effect, was a mass scream of disappointment just. There was pure joy on the field, where the players rushed out of the dugout and tumbled into a heap, and the beating extended to the town's senior newspapers in their private box above home plate. Heise, consumed from the bullpen to end down the victory for starting starter Juan Guzman, said afterwards that the emotions inside the dome during those last cells left him struggling for control. "I think they'll agree to be able to bring a World Series here for the Canadian fans who have supported us all along," he said in the frenzied dressing room after the game. "I can't tell you how good that feels."

The Braves, of course, had their own moments of glory. They demonstrated Nogi Berra's old-on-never-told-it-over stage by winning their series against Pittsburgh in the bottom of the ninth inning of the seventh game—as a triumph, two-out single by former Jays hard-hitter Francisco Cabrera. Olympic Toronto fans had to remind themselves that Atlanta is essentially the same team that just missed last year, losing the seventh game of the World Series in the 10th inning to the Minnesota Twins and Morris, then their arch-rival Atlanta has strong starting pitchers in Steve Avery, Ron Glavien and John Smoltz, young guns such as slopping outfielders Ron Gage and Dave Justice, and tremendous leadership from third-baseman Terry Pendleton, the 1990 National League Most Valuable Player. What makes them even better, Cox says, is having been in the Series before—losing, and wanting to make good on their second chance. Looking for weaknesses in the Braves' roster, observers in Atlanta last week could only cite the team's bullpen, which is good but not great.

Despite all the media focus on the diamond battle for second pride, politics seemed at best remote to the gaggle of players and reporters hanging around the batting cage last weekend



Always safe at first: "Where've you been hiding this guy?"

in Atlanta. The players were loose, sipping batting-practice icebergs, nonchalantly fielding gratuities and throwing Jays center fielder Devon White, who last week narrowly escaped injury in an accident while taking a test drive in a \$130,000 Mercedes ("Hey Dave, don't go test-drive my car?"). The American reporters talked about the World Series as the first that required two currencies and customs checks, and some acted as if Atlanta—a three-time all-

star who was chosen the Most Valuable Player in the Oakland series—had just appeared from nowhere. "Where've you been hiding this guy?" a local radio reporter asked Guzman in Atlanta. Guzman, not suffering a foul gladly, turned away with out a word.

The reference, clearly, was that all the Blue Jays' attendance records and winning seasons have largely been lost in transmission across the border. If nothing else, this World Series will showcase to Americans a team that Canadians have been proud of for 16 years: Winfield, the 42-year-old slugger whose year-old enthusiasm for the game—not to mention his undiminished skills—have been an inspiration to his teammates, is equally appreciative of the opportunity Toronto has given him. "I'm just savoring it, really savoring it," he said. But when asked if the Blue Jays had achieved their goal by winning the pennant, he responded sharply, promising "Hey, it ain't over." This Blue Jay team, it seems, was not interested in second best.

JAMES DEACON in Atlanta
with correspondents reports



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ENVIRONMENT

Return of a native

Maurice Strong moves his base to Toronto

Since he left his boyhood home near Brandon, Man., at 14, Maurice Strong has earned wealth as a businessman and international respect as an environmentalist. Over the years, Strong, 63, has frequently served abroad as a senior UN official—most recently as the Geneva-based secretary general of the huge UN Conference on the Environment and Development, which was held in Rio de Janeiro from June 3 to 14. Strong's team with the United Nations ended on Aug. 30, and last week he returned to Canada, setting up home in a fashionable loft-apartment in Toronto. Strong said that he would remain active in environmental affairs, but currently is helping to set up an organization called the *World Council*, based in San Jose, Costa Rica, that will coordinate implementation of the consensus agreed on by world leaders in Rio. And as he prepared to live in Canada again, Strong expressed concern over the implications of the Oct. 26 constitutional referendum. Foreigners, Strong told *Maclean's* are only beginning to realize that "the Canada they know could self-destruct." Otherwise, he said, there is "irrevocability, reality almost deleted, that Canadians could be considering doing this to themselves."

Strong said that, apart from acting as a part-time UN adviser and working with the *World Council*, he planned to concentrate on his personal business interests. They include investments held by Vancouver-based Strong-Holdman Inc. Still, Strong conceded that one potential job might be a stimulating challenge: running the troubled, provincially owned Ontario Hydro power utility. Hydro officials said that Strong is in a short list of names being considered as possible successors to outgoing chairman Marc Blouin, who will leave the corporation in Oct. 31. Facing major problems with some of its power-generating nuclear reactors and with rapidly decreasing revenues, Hydro has increased rates by nearly 25 per cent during the past two years. Strong said that he had not sought the job, but that "it would be wrong to say that I wouldn't feel a sense of challenge." If Hydro offered it to him.

But there were other demands for Strong's time in his new home city. He was honored last week at a dinner held to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Canadian Executive Service Organization, a volunteer program that assists projects among Canadian inshore people and in Eastern Europe and developing countries that Strong helped to launch in 1967. Strong was also attending sessions at a UN-sponsored congress on environmental education and commu-

nications being held in Toronto on Oct. 16 to 21.

Strong said that he was still optimistic that the Rio conference, which attracted 15,000 delegates and 120 world leaders, would lead to an eventual reduction in environmental degradation. He said that the conference was producing more international agreements to limit atmospheric pollution, preserve biological life and curtail a wide range of environmentally damaging practices. Strong said that for the time being, severe economic problems in many parts of the world were diverting the attention of gov-

ernments from environmental issues. But he said that thousands of delegates to the Rio conference would "generate a whole new round of grassroots signals that would keep the best on politicians" over environmental issues in the future.

On the Oct. 26 referendum, Strong said that Canada has been able to develop influence and a reputation in the world to a large extent because "we are an example of how a country can achieve its independence peacefully, live in peace with the largest and most powerful neighbour in the world and live at peace in a multicultural environment." A *Maclean's* Canada, he said, "won't maintain the same respect or influence. Another has practical implications for our economy." Added Strong: "The tragedy is that if Canada does divide, we will realize too late that the sum of the parts will be much less than the whole. And in part of Canada will have the influence of the respect at the capacity for looking after its own citizens that Canada has a whole lot." One of the nation's most distinguished citizens has returned to live in uncertain times.



Strong: monitoring Rio

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BROADCASTING

A political junkie

Pamela Wallin chooses a fling in prime time

It was Thanksgiving weekend, and the grand opening of the Special Effects Spa in Windsor, Sask. (pop. 1,500), was in full swing. Proud co-owner Pamela Wallin, then still co-host of Canada's A.M., CTV's morning news show, was putting her makeup skills to work. "I did about 40 people that day," revealed 39-year-old Wallin. "It was tiring but fun." Her interview with Madonna last week, the journalist explained, was she and her sister, Bonnie George, had decided two months ago to set up the beauty shop and have staff in their home town, located two hours northeast of Regina. "There was an obvious need—my mother was driving 35 miles for a haircut," said Wallin. On the opening day, she applied eye shadow and lipstick to the faces of patrons. Wallin was contemplating another enterprise just three days earlier, she had been offered a plus position, co-anchor with Peter Mansbridge of the CBC's revamped evening news hour, *Prime Time Live*, which debuts on Nov. 2. By the end of the weekend, she had accepted. "It's the most exciting job in Canadian journalism," Wallin said. "It's brand new, there are preconceived notions and, best of all, it's fun. I love the unpredictability of that."

Wallin's appointment is another in a series of turn-of-events, departures, changes and make-overs that have marked the CBC this year. In May, management announced a radical restructuring of its prime-time programming. Its flagship news show, the one-hour package that contained *The National* and *The Journal*, would move to 9 p.m. from 10. Then in June, CBC president Gerald Veldner reorganized his senior ranks. In one of the most high-profile changes, he brought in Tim Kitchoff, then vice-president of news, features and information programming at CTV, in a special charge as the public network's TV news department.

And in August, barely two months into his new position as vice-president of news, current affairs and *Newsweek*, Kitchoff welcomed the demise of *The Journal*, the 10-year-old current affairs program that has attracted nearly 1.2 million Canadians daily. Replacing *The Journal* is well as *The Journal* would be a retooled news and current affairs hour. Kitchoff told Madonna last week that he and his team are still refining the format of the new program. Said the new co-host: "I was told it's a live, one-hour weekend package of news and back-ground items. That's fine with me. I don't want to be any more structured than that."

Wallin maintains that the uncertain climate at the CBC is part of an industry-wide upheaval. "There are so many factors at work," she said,

"the fragmentation of the TV audience, the recession. It's affecting everyone." Added Wallin: "The business is always like that. We work in a state of chaos—that's what we thrive on." Her co-host, meanwhile, told Madonna that he is delighted at Wallin's appointment. Said Mansbridge: "I was part of the process of persuading her to come."

Named the 1992 Gemini winner in the category of best overall broadcast journalist, Wallin is a self-admitted workaholic who averages about four hours of sleep a night. As co-host of Canada's A.M., she rose at 3:15, drinking coffee and reading the papers in the news driven to work each day. While her workday at the

station often ended at 4:30 p.m., her morning kept her occupied until about 9 p.m. And as well as her duties at the morning show, Wallin moderated the weekly political forum *Question Period* and often worked with evening news anchor Lloyd Robertson on specials.

Describing herself as a political junkie, Wallin says that moderating that schedule, while difficult, has also been exhilarating. "I love what I do," she added. "If somebody told me that I had to sit down and watch the vice-presidential debate and then flip over and watch Bourassa and Perreault, to me that's not work. I would be doing that anyway." As for her private life, Wallin would only say she and her husband of five years, TV producer Malcolm Fox, recently separated.

Her fascination with politics, particularly with what she calls "the Canadian story," has marked her 30-year career in radio, print and television journalism. The second daughter of businessmen and retired X-ray technician William Wallin and teacher Laura Wallin, she graduated from the University of Regina before becoming co-host of an open-line program on CBC Radio in Regina in 1972. She moved first to Ottawa and then to Toronto to work for CBC Radio's *As It Happens* and *Sunday*



Wallin: "I love what I do."

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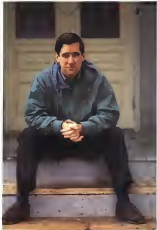
By Ron Graham

(Macleanland: Walker & Ross, 324 pages, \$27.95)

As a child in the 1950s in his sheltered attic room near the top of Montreal's Westmount district, Ron Graham was barely aware that French-Canadians existed. The shaded grey stone mansions were the preserve of the city's English aristocracy, both real and fabled. He had no French schoolmates, and the unfettered sunsets and sea views near the mountainside were all of sound British stock. French-Canadians, Graham recalls in *The French Quarter*, were "as abstract as the Hindus I read about in *Napoleón* or the *Mao Whan* interpreting the British version of Kung."

Graham now confesses that he is perplexed by his youthful ignorance because his own maternal grandfather was a French-Canadian with the unmistakable French name of René Édouard Monette. But he was a French-Canadian who was different, a successful businessman who lived as a snob in the Ritz-Carlton, the protected locality of wealthy Anglo-Montrealers, and was never heard to speak anything but English. When Monette died in 1958, Graham wept inconsolably, he writes, for "the French-Canadian part of me that was borne away when the heavy iron door of the hearse clattered shut." But it was not until 1990, facing the growing danger of a loss of Canada, that he set out to find his French-Canadian roots, his French quarter.

His search is spectacularly successful. At most an anachronism, a misfit given his family line of the Maroons, tracing his ancestors through 13 generations back to Zacharie Cloutier, a master carpenter who sailed to New France (now-Quebec) in 1634. Graham uses that genealogy as a guide for an anecdotal history of Quebec in which his relatives are featured prominently. Although most are merchants, soldiers or farmers, not all bring laurels to the family name. In the 1660s, one ancestor, a young soldier, works as a procuress for M^{re} de La Potherie, the dissolute military governor of Montreal.



Graham's pessimistic about Quebec remaining in Canada

Graham's family becomes a metaphor for Quebec, where the momentous pull of politics often pits brother against brother and father against son. In 1682, one of his French ancestors, Alain de LaFrenière, marries the daughter of a prosperous Scottish settler, Capt. John Munro, thrives in the English business world and becomes one of the early advocates of bilingualism. Meanwhile, Monette's son Hugh has been disinherited for marrying Anglaise Larocque, an attractive widow whose son later becomes one of the supporters of the short-lived 1837 rebellion led by Louis-Joseph Papineau. Hugh Monette renounces himself in the French-Canadian culture, changes his first

name to Hugues and converts to Roman Catholicism. In a scenario that has been repeated many times in Quebec, Hugh Monette's descendants grow up predominantly French while those of his French-Canadian brother-in-law become predominantly English.

The contrasts have done nothing to heal family political rifts. Graham's cousin, Charles Monette, the nemesis of the first Monette to come to Canada 350 years ago, now lives in Toronto and says that he doubts that the country can be saved. "I can't see going back to Quebec myself," he says. The only question is whether or not it'll be buried in Montreal as the Monette plan. Another cousin, Danielle Daignault, stays on to fight for separation. "I intend to support independence... even if the leaders aren't as good, even if the economic situation isn't as good, even if, even if," she says. "Quebec needs independence to put energy back into its people."

Graham's family odyssey has clearly left him pessimistic about the prospects of Quebec remaining in Canada, in large part because of the emotionalism that has carried down more than two centuries from the battle of the Plains of Abraham. "The memory of the conquest and the minority status of French-Canadians within Canada will not disappear," he writes. "The psychological scars to be inherited from the shame of history... cannot be erased by political compromise or economic progress."

Graham breaks no new ground in his proposals for dealing with the Quebec crisis. An ardent supporter of the policies of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau (he was recently chosen as the English interviewer for a TV biography of Trudeau), Graham is leaning towards Brian Mulroney and Robert Bourassa for the concessions

they have made to Quebec nationalists. He argues that 35 years of constitutional conferences have shown that Quebec's demands for special powers will never be satisfied.

Not that his opinions matter much. Graham concludes, at least as in Quebec. In the 1970s, Graham joined the ranks of more than 100,000 Anglos. He now lives in Toronto (he still has a summer home in Quebec's Eastern Townships) and that alone, at the apex of many Quebecers' dreams, bars him at the right to an opinion. Despite his Quebec ancestry, he carefully concludes, "I am beyond the pale."

Hot new flashes

Germaine Greer explodes myths about menopause

THE CHANGE, WOMEN, AGING
AND THE MENOPAUSE
By Germaine Greer
(Knopf Canada, 422 pages, \$27.50)

As contained in North American are to the spectacle of Jane Fonda's bosom body and Elizabeth Taylor's latest husband, it is almost possible to imagine that the fountain of youth has been found at last. But Germaine Greer, at 55, has embraced middle age with a resolute—saying belated and all. The once-sassy liberator is now a grey-haired, cultured, well-dressed

beacon on the other side of the great divide. Early on in *The Change*, Greer laments that "All our harpists are young." In her new book, along with old Shirley's best-selling *The Silent Passage*, has slowly altered the landscape, investing a taboo subject with legitimacy and intellectual glamour. As compared to Greer's own testimony are the voices of other gifted writers, including Emily Brontë, Doreen Lawrence and Christian Bovey. Greer has artfully celebrated these into a chosen of women on middle age. Writes the poet Elizabeth Jennings in *Accepted*: "This is a time to begin/Your life. It could be new." Freed from the tyranny of the word, women may cast off seductive riles and "give their new adulthood space to flourish and flower," Greer writes. "In a childhood world this behavior is seen as threatening. No one learns what to do with a woman who is not perpetually smiling and fawning."

But unlike Shirley, who seems to believe that with equal doses of estrogen and positive thinking women can have it all, Greer also portrays menopause as a time of jobs and pain and necessary grieving for what is gone forever. It is a rough, barren passage, she argues, better described as "the climacteric," from the Greek word meaning critical time, from the familiar "menopause," which denotes a "however, the menarche period that does not happen."

Only by firing it back on, Greer writes, can women emerge victorious. If that entails a spell of temporary lunacy, so much the better. "There is no point in growing old," she says, "unless you can be a witch, and accumulate spiritual power as place of the political and economic power that has been denied you as a woman."

Western society offers humiliating alternatives to women undergoing menopause: a slow fade into invisibility or an exposure, humiliating and ultimately doomed battle to stay young. Like an emerging night, Greer swoops

down on all would-be oppressors, particularly the health-care professionals who call the "Masters of Menopause." She brooms on the popular practice of prescribing replacement hormones, noting sadly that estrogen keeps women generally lubricated and "sexually lubricated." In the game, although not necessarily sexually aroused. "Is one never to be set free from the white slavery of attraction duty?" she writes. It is a hugely complicated issue, and at times Greer founders in the mists of conflicting evidence.

What is clear is that too little is known about menopause, drugs have been both administratively prescribed and withheld—and more research is urgently needed.

Greer, who is childless and unattached, is regrettably sour on the subject of middle-aged sex. But her rhetorical posture that "some women, the lucky ones... lose interest in sex after menopause" is not necessarily impressive or enlightening. Greer furnishes engaging examples of women who kept romance burning well into middle age, including 46-year-old Diane de Poitiers who was the mistress of 31-year-old Henry II when he became king of France in 1547.

The author's main concern is to allay the shame and fear of women who have never found, or held onto, sexual fulfillment of the sort that they have been taught to believe is their supreme destiny. The romantic prospects of such a woman are slim, her control over the situation negligible. "It is all the more important, then, that she not allow herself to be convinced that without the psychic release of sex she will become a frustrated, bitter, cruel, dried-up, nervous old witch," she argues.

With or without sex, Greer manages to make the second half of life sound positively inviting, a calm, dispassionate realm of creative and spiritual growth. "Only when the stress of the climacteric is over can the aging woman realize that autumn can be long, golden, richer and warmer than summer, and is the most productive season of the year," she writes. *The Change* is good in itself that Germaine Greer is, indeed, in her prime.

GILLIAN MACKEY

Maclean's

BEST SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The English Patient*, Michael Ondaatje
- 2 *Sabine's Notebook*, Elizabeth Goudge
- 3 *Delving Deep*, Frances Taylor
- 4 *The Children of Israel*, James Jones
- 5 *The Tale of the Body Thief*, Ian McEwan
- 6 *Good Bones*, Andrew Ross
- 7 *Shampoo Planet*, Stephen King
- 8 *The Secret History*, Lynn Hunt
- 9 *The Stone Shore*, Graham Greene
- 10 *A Song for Solomon*, Gary Soto

NONFICTION

- 1 *The Change*, Greer
- 2 *The Silent Passage*, Doreen Lawrence
- 3 *Love's Longing Thing*, Albert Camus
- 4 *William's Beauty*, Seal
- 5 *Magnum*, Simon
- 6 *The Tale of the Body Thief*, Ian McEwan
- 7 *It Doesn't Take a Hero*, Michael Ondaatje
- 8 *Talk, Talk, Talk*, James Jones
- 9 *The Last Year*, Anthony Browne
- 10 *The French Quarter*, Graham Greene

(1) *Parade* last week

Compiled by Bruce Robinson

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN YES AND NO.

On October 26th, you will be asked to vote on the Charlottetown Agreement. Yes. Or no. Before you decide, make sure you understand the difference. Here are some of the key issues.

THE NO SIDE

Senate reform will not touch the West.

Yes, but how much influence will the West really have?

Why should we guarantee Quebec 25% of the seats in the House of Commons?

Aboriginals are Canadians the same as everybody else.

All these changes are going to cost taxpayers more money.

The Charlottetown Agreement was reached with the best interests of all Canadians in mind. From every province, from every background, from every walk of life. In fairness to all Canadians, vote yes.

THE YES SIDE

In fact, the proposal for an equal, elected, more effective Senate came about from pressure from the West. And rightly so. For the first time in Canada's history, all provinces will have an equal say.

The West will have almost 40% of Senate seats while Ontario and Quebec combined will have less than 20%. In other words, the domination of the Senate by Central Canada will come to an end.

Four provinces already have guarantees of minimum representation in the House of Commons. This is now being extended to Quebec. Quebec has, and has always had, more than 25% of the population.

On October 26th, Canadians will be asked to recognize the inherent right of Aboriginal peoples to govern themselves. For the first time in our history, Canada's First Peoples will have the essential tools they need to manage their own affairs with dignity and pride. This is long overdue.

Not so. The Agreement proposes to reduce wasteful government duplication and overlap. Less duplication means less money spent. Less money spent means less tax dollars needed.

YES OCT-26 QUI

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Greer: her best book since *The Female Eunuch*

"old witch" who contends that "a grown woman should not have to masquerade as a girl in order to remain in the land of the living." Greer's brilliant, wicked, poignant and, at times, overpowering sixth book, *The Change*, Women, Aging and the Menopause, is her best since she deliriously wrote *The Female Eunuch* in 1970. Where *The Female Eunuch* showed young women—and men—that femininity could be smart and sexy, *The Change* promises an older generation that serenity and power



The cruel pleasures of a lost weekend

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

One of the great institutions of the past, in literature and music, is the weekend at an English country house. Movies and novels have been composed around the adventures and disasters implicit in strangers encountering hosts and other guests whose the mix may or may not match. H.G. Wells, as well as being a famous futurist, when he left his London train station for a weekend, carried with him a floor plan of the country house, with all the bedrooms marked, so he could do both the business and a daughter before dawn.

So we are at Sweet Brine, an 180 acres of rolling hills in upstate New York, the loaves rosette and yellow, the pumpkins piled beside the country roads, the house guests well aware that anything can happen.

There are "about 35" rooms in this great house that was built in 1894. There is even a resident ghost. Resident host is John H. Hickman. He is, on encountering him, one thinks there has been a time warp—this surely is *The Great Gatsby*. Here is a man who dresses for breakfast, complete with \$14-a-itch cigar. Here is a man who was born to be a weekend country house host. There are seven house guests in all. The famous movie director immediately recognizes that he hasn't brought enough clothes. Mine host doesn't believe in such frills, but never being much available on English country weekends. Besides, it's hard to heat a 35-room wooden house.

Mine host was born in Washington, Del. He talks like a Southern gentleman. He is a graduate of Yale, where he learned Chinese, and Yale Law School. He is a graduate of Brown, where he took Russian. He is a graduate of the Yale Institute of Foreign Languages, which turns out "reflex assassinations, diplomats or diplomats." He declines to identify his category.

There are books floor to ceiling, everywhere, by the yard, by the ton—"15,000" of them more or less put round in Vermont, the Connecticut Black had 15,000 in his library. The movie director is borrowing sweaters and sweaters and is shivering.

John H. is the youngest CEO in history on the



New York Stock Exchange. Also the last dressed. Also with the largest cigars. His first wife persuaded him to slow down and do some teaching at the University of Rochester, north of here. In 1784 one Horatio Jones was the translator between the Trojans and the white man. In gratitude, the Seneca Nation gave him these heavily wooded 150 acres.

The First National Bank of New York originally owned Sweet Brine. The Vanderbilts and the Astors, the plutocrats, had their wedding laws. Henry James stayed there, as did Bernard Baruch and P. Scott Winterfield. One would not be surprised to see the latter come down to dinner on a staircase that reminds the guests of Riemann.

The movie director's wife has brought three pumpkins just she baked from pumpkins she grew on their farm. The fashion photographer has brought her camera. Highlight of the weekend is the Genesee Valley Hunt Cup races,

where the horses sit gather for three minutes of what England used to be like.

The children's pony race, the steeplechase and the flat are over hill and dale. The riders are such as Pamela Whitney, Loren Nelson III, C.J. McKelvey and Joseph W. DeLozier III. There are tailgate parties along the rail and the pat in seats, featuring hot bulbheads in silver beakers, Hermes scarves used as placemats and the pumpkin pie, brought over all competition to win the coveted blue ribbon, pat in dainties, and presents, a Souther Glass trophy to the winner of the Hunt Cup. "It's such a nice time."

Back at Sweet Brine, the movie producer is threatening to break up the chairs to fuel the fireplace in his bedroom. There is only one TV, and no radio, in the house, that being in his wife's bedroom, necessitating very crowded conditions on mine host's bed in the unlikely to see both the beachball and the presidential debates.

The ex-diplomat keeps disappearing for long stretches. It seems he's out in his car, the only way to track the Mike Jays. The unappreciable butler, who has taken it all before, makes and says little. The ex-diplomat's wife wants to play tennis. Mine host is the best kind of host, accepting all insults with a smile. He lights another cigar, his own personal before.

All through this, Doris Day plays on the sound system. There are old movies, very old movies, available on the rack. There is a separate library just for music. There is a children's library. There is an entire nursery waiting for grandchildren, complete with a child's computer. 200 11 is 55. He subscribes to 25 or 30 magazines a month.

This tacky in wonderland, carved by the only man in the house who knows how to carve. The movie director is now threatening to burn some of the books in his fireplace. Mine host smiles through the blue haze of smoke that follows him around. Above the stained as his study is an evil face, the only known portrait of John Wilkes, "the Regency Rake" who was Lord Mayor of London and kept young girls in chains as his chamberlains. It frightens guests.

He is off this week to address the Strategic Management Society in London—and undoubtedly buy some books. He teaches a course in Toronto. There are arguments about the shortage of sex. There are complaints about Doris Day overrated. The movie director offers to write a cheque to cover the heating bill. Mine host, who knows how to orchestrate a weekend, smiles. And lights another cigar. H.G. Wells would have enjoyed it.

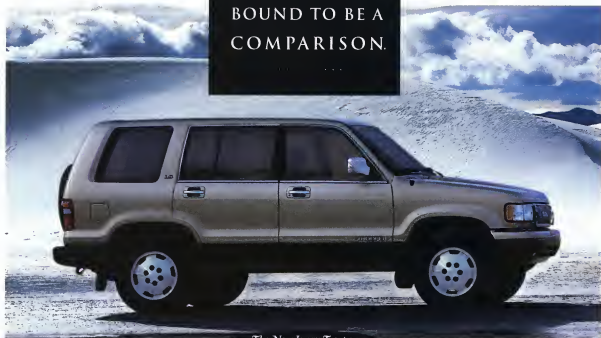
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